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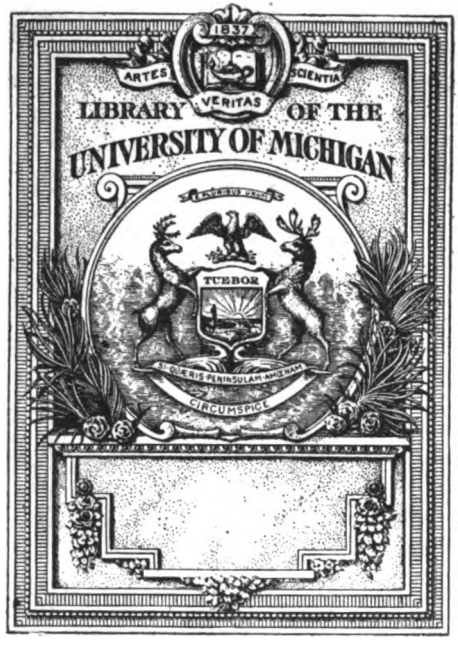

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THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW

Volume V APRIL, 1919 Number 1

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FOR THE STUDY OF THE CHURCH HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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The
Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME V APRIL, 1919 NUMBER 1

ECCLESIASTICAL JURISDICTION IN THE SPANISH COLONIES

Having considered the diocesan government of Florida,[1] we now pass to those States in the southwest which also formed at one time a part of the Spanish dominions, namely: Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. This region now forms three ecclesiastical provinces: San Francisco, Santa Fé and the portion of New Orleans west of the Sabine River; in the Spanish days it was in the ecclesiastical province of Mexico, since it was politically a part of the Vice-Royalty of New Spain. Hence it will be convenient to premise an outline of civil and ecclesiastical growth in that country.

The Spanish tradition of establishing dioceses as soon as possible after taking possession is nowhere more clearly instanced than in Mexico. Cortés landed in 1519; the City of Mexico was permanently occupied in 1521; and in 1525 Pope Clement VII appointed a bishop to Tlaxcala, a town about fifty-five miles from the present capital.[2] The choice of this town instead of Mexico City was dictated probably by the fact that its inhabitants, though at first putting up a bitter resistance, had ultimately concluded a league with the Spaniards and had assisted in the Conquest. And with the landing of the Bishop (Julian Garcés) in 1527 the diocesan history of Mexico begins, only eight years after Spanish forces first set foot on Mexican soil. Like the other dioceses in Spanish America at this time Tlaxcala was a suffragan of Seville, and this arrangement continued down to 1545. In the

[1] Dr. Ryan's previous articles on the *Diocesan Organization in the Spanish Colonies* appeared in the July, 1916, and July, 1918, issues of the REVIEW.

[2] He had been appointed to the See of Yucatán (founded in 1518 as "Carolensis"), but this See was suppressed shortly afterward.

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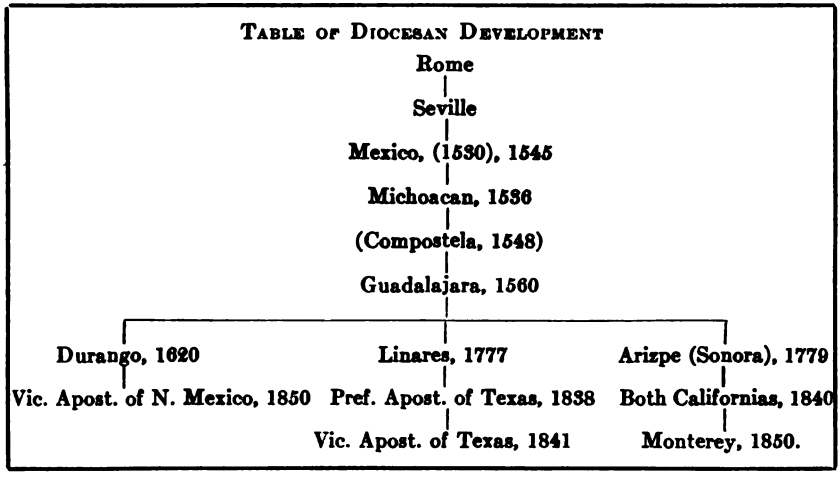
meantime Mexico had been established (1530), and others followed in rapid succession so that in 1545 the territory was detached from Seville and constituted into a separate Province with Mexico as the Metropolitan See. As the Spaniards pushed on new, Sees were established, the ones entering into our present study being Compostela (1548; removed to Guadalajara, 1560), Durango (1620), Linares (1777) and Arizpe (1779). All these were suffragans of Mexico, which diocese itself had a wonderful development.



For, by the middle of the sixteenth century it possessed, besides a plentiful supply of schools, colleges and convents, a University (aptly called "the last of the medieval Universities") which in time came to be an important seat of learning and produced some excellent scholars, particularly in the department of Aztec languages and antiquities. But we must own that this progress would have been difficult, not to say impossible, without that close co-operation of Church and State that obtained in Spain and the Spanish possessions. An instance of this is the manner in which the first Bishop of Mexico, the famous Zumárraga, was appointed. He came without papal nomination but solely by the authority of Charles V and styling himself "*omnimoda potestate Antistes*," governed his diocese for five years before going back to Spain to receive the necessary Bulls and be consecrated. Such situations as this—and they are by no means rare—evidence how far-reaching was the power of the Spanish crown in Church affairs.

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From Mexico the Church was extended into United States territory in three directions: north, into New Mexico and Arizona; northeast, into Texas; and northwest, into California. In the present article we consider them in this (the chronological) order.

1. New Mexico and Arizona

Immediately to the west of Mexico lay its suffragan Michoacan (established in 1536). Intended to coincide with the old Kingdom of Michoacan, its boundary in the neighborhood of Zacatecas was vague; and when the advance of the Spaniards toward the Rio Grande and along the Pacific coast of Mexico made necessary a further erection of dioceses, it was from Michoacan that the new diocese was formed. This came in 1548 with the establishment of a bishopric at Compostela in the Province of Tepic, removed in 1560 to Guadalajara. And as its northern limit was coincident with the northern limit of Spanish expansion,[3] our Southwest enters on the stage of Church history as part of the Diocese of Guadalajara. But it required a long time and persistent courage to make settlements in this region. The attempts ended in failure until Juan de Oñate succeeded in establishing the town of Real de San Juan in 1598. Of course like Spanish explorers generally, he was accompanied by priests, in this case Franciscans, who had the double function of ministering to the Spanish soldiers and converting the natives. And as the Friars were subject to their superior in Mexico and enjoyed the usual privileges of missioners in Spanish America, they were practically independent of the bishop, though he could claim the right of visitation. It happened, however, that even this right was never exercised from Guadalajara, for in 1620 Pope Paul V erected the See of Durango (the residence of the Governor of Nueva Vizcaya), including in its territory present-day New Mexico and Arizona. This arrangement lasted throughout the periods of Spanish and Mexican rule and even for a short time after the cession of these lands to the United States in 1848, though a separate diocese for New Mexico was more than once proposed.

[3] Cuanto caé al E: como Coahuila, Monterey y Tejas, terminando en los bárbaros del N. y por el O. todo lo que hasta entónces se había conquistado y lo estaba por conquistar."—VERA, *Catecismo . . . . de la Iglesia Mexicana*, p. 231. For Escobar's *Relation of the Oñate Expedition*, see pp. 19-41 of this issue.

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During four score years the missioners labored heroically; then, in 1680 came a terrible uprising of the Indians, the Spaniards were driven out and almost every vestige of Catholicism was destroyed. Up to this time there is no record of any visitation by the bishop. The priests were Franciscans exclusively (as was the case, with a very few exceptions, down to about 1800), and as their chief occupation was the care of the mission stations there was little occasion for a bishop to venture into so remote a portion of his diocese. Spanish rule was re-established in 1692 and maintained until the independence of Mexico (1821). Still it is not until well on in the eighteenth century that the series of episcopal visitations begins.

The first bishop actively to exercise jurisdiction in what is now the State of New Mexico was Bénito Crespo, a man of extraordinary energy, who ruled the Diocese of Durango from 1723 to 1734. Three times he travelled over the vast territory entrusted to his care and on the second of these journeys he succeeded in penetrating into New Mexico, a thing not achieved by any of his predecessors. In fact he included even Arizona in his inspection, the only bishop who ever went there before American occupation; and it was due to his earnest representations to King Philip V that that struggling mission obtained a new lease of life through the efforts of the three Jesuits whom the King sent. In New Mexico he encountered no difficulty at first. He was well received at El Paso and Santa Fé, pontificating and administering the Sacrament of Confirmation, but as soon as he attempted to exercise his functions at the Pueblo Missions, the Franciscans, obeying the command of their superior in Mexico, refused to recognize his right to do so and called in question the authority of the ecclesiastical judge he appointed to try canonical cases. So determined were they in their opposition that the bishop was forced to institute proceedings against the officials of the Order in Mexico and ultimately the affair was referred to the King. In the course of the dispute rather serious charges were brought against the Friars, such as that they neglected to learn the native tongues (we shall meet with this again), thereby limiting considerably their usefulness as confessors and catechists; that they improperly employed the tithes; that they gave scandal by their conduct, etc. It is impossible to pass on the truth of these accusations, since they were affirmed

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and denied with equal vehemence and authority. Nor does it appear that a final official decision was ever given. In 1729 came a royal order favorable to the bishop, followed two years later by one that seemed somewhat to favor the Friars; then, after another two years, a temporary decision was handed down, to the effect that the bishop possessed jurisdiction. Then came an appeal to Madrid, where the case was called in 1736, but the record (if there is one) of a final settlement is not to be had. On the whole it would seem that the victory rested with the bishop, to judge from the fact of subsequent visitations and the conduct of the Friars on these occasions. As we have already seen in connection with Florida such conflicts were unpleasantly frequent, despite the pronouncements of Rome and of Madrid. Pope Pius V had laid down (in 1567) that the superiors of Missions were *parochi* in the Tridentine sense both for the Indians under their charge and for the Spaniards who lived in the vicinity and had no other pastor; this would seem to put them, as *parochi*, under the control of the local bishop. And this conclusion is suggested also by the consideration that Pope Alexander VI and Pope Leo X had declared that a superior of missioners was vicar-general of the bishop in whose diocese the missions were and could confer the Sacrament of Confirmation. Instead of limiting the power of the bishop this arrangement would appear to strengthen it, unless we are prepared to hold that a bishop can have less jurisdiction in his own diocese than his vicar-general.

It was during this visitation that a regulation of stole fees was put in force, to prevent undue exaction from the people. The stipend for a marriage or for a funeral with a Requiem Mass was put at sixteen dollars, a generous allowance for the times.

Bishop Crespo, transferred to Pueblo in 1734, was succeeded in 1736 by Martin de Elizacochea who in the very next year came on a visitation to New Mexico. The scantiness of the records for the period we are studying may be realized from the following fact: In the extreme western part of the State of New Mexico, not far from the Zuñi Reservation, is a rock known as "Inscription Rock," or, to the Spanish-speaking inhabitants, "El Moro." It contains a Spanish inscription, rude but easily decipherable, as follows: "Dia 28 de Sep de 1723as llego aqui El Illmo Sr Dn Martin de Elizacochea Obpo de Durango y El dia 29 paso a Zuñi ("On Sep-

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tember 28, 1737, the Most Illustrious Señor Don Martin de Elizacochea, Bishop of Durango, arrived here and on the twenty-ninth he proceeded to Zuñi"). This is (I believe) the only record of the presence of this bishop in this corner of his diocese, a fact that we should otherwise not have known. So slight a clue helps us to realize how much of the history of those parts must be irrecoverably lost through the lack of some such accidental memorial.

The next bishop, Francisco Anselmo Sanchez de Tagle, never came to New Mexico, but his successor, Pedro Tamaron y Romezal, who ruled Durango from 1757 to 1768, seems to have done so, but this cannot be set down with certainty. At any rate he kept himself well informed as to what was going on and sent the King a complete description of the diocese. He was not pleased with all that he heard about (or saw in) New Mexico. For instance, he complained that out of a Catholic population of about 12,000, over 11,000 had not been confirmed; and he repeated the accusation made by his predecessor Bishop Crespo some thirty years before, that the Friars did not learn the Indian languages. He even offered to print at his own expense prayer-books in the local dialects if the Friars would write them, but as far as is known nothing came of this. Of course such neglect was reprehensible, but in justice it must be said that the Friars were not entirely to blame, because a royal order of long standing required that the Catechism be taught to the Indians in Spanish and the Missions were supplied annually with catechisms in that language, though there was no prohibition of the use of the native idioms as well. Perhaps the success the Spaniards had obtained in Mexico in making the Indians give up their own speech for that of their conquerors led to the idea that the same result would follow elsewhere. But the Pueblo Indians were quite different; and perhaps this matter of language can account in some measure for the comparative weakness of Spanish rule in New Mexico and the rapidity with which it declined later on.

For the rest of the eighteenth century the record of episcopal jurisdiction in New Mexico is a blank; and with the early years of the nineteenth century came the Napoleonic invasion of Spain, the dethronement of the Bourbons in favor of Bonaparte's brother, and the consequent upheaval culminating in the War of Liberation. This chaotic situation was of course reflected in Spanish

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America, and the history of Mexico during the first decade of the last century is a record of disturbance and civil war finally leading to separation from the mother country and to the declaration of independence (1821). Of course the Church suffered dreadfully, all the more because of her close union with and dependence on the civil power. It had been the custom to send Friars from the mother house in Mexico to stay at a mission for ten years, the expense being defrayed by the Government. But now the Friars, being left without support, had to depart and the bishop (Olivares y Bénito) put diocesan clergy in charge and appointed a *Vicarius Foraneus* with the powers of judge in ecclesiastical cases. But this latter provision was at best a makeshift; what New Mexico needed was a resident bishop, and when the American colonies of Spain were permitted to send representatives to the Spanish Cortés, one of the first matters brought before that body was the request of the Deputy Pino for the establishment of a bishopric at Santa Fé. In the document he presented, he states that the population of the Province was 40,000; that it sent every year to the Bishop of Durango $10,000; but that no bishop had been there in fifty years (he himself had no idea how a bishop dressed until he saw one in Spain). While the Cortés debated this for three years, the Bishop of Durango got along as well as he could by appointing Vicars for New Mexico. And when the Spanish Government finally did decree, on January 26, 1818, the establishment of the long-desired See, her power had become almost extinct in that part of the world and the decree was ineffective.

After the declaration of independence, Iturbide was set up as Emperor and reigned until April, 1823, that is to say, for about eighteen months. After the fall of the Emperor, the Bishop of Durango, who had been elected a Deputy to Congress, returned to his diocese and appointed one of his clergy, San Vicente, Vicar-General for New Mexico. Arriving in 1826, this official undertook the transfer of more of the parishes to the diocesan clergy and made a pretty thorough, though not always kindly, ruler. His successor (appointed by the Chapter, since the See of Durango was then vacant) was Doctor Rascon who arrived in 1829 and was received with considerable honor, civil as well as ecclesiastical. He found the religious life in the Province in a state of sad decay; the number of priests had so dwindled that some of the Fathers had

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more than one church to attend and for the first time since the establishment of Christianity there, it was necessary to permit priests to celebrate Mass twice on Sundays and Holy Days. In material goods also the Church was in a bad way, buildings, altar plate, vestments, etc., being hardly fit for use, but apparently nothing could be done to remedy this situation as it was impossible to persuade the people to contribute the necessary money. In the Spanish days the Government had attended to all these needs; now that this support was withdrawn and the people were called on to contribute they failed to respond, and in only three parishes was the revenue sufficient for actual needs. There being no bishop from 1824 to 1832, Doctor Rascon was empowered by Pope Leo XII to administer Confirmation in New Mexico.

In 1832 Durango received a bishop in the person of Dr. Antonio Zubiría y Escalante and it was during his administration that the connection between New Mexico and the diocese of Durango was severed. More than once (in 1823 and in 1830) the Mexican Congress debated the erection of New Mexico into a separate diocese but the project never advanced beyond the stage of discussion, so the Bishop of Durango had to look after the region as well as he could. Three times he came to New Mexico (1832, 1845 and 1850), but little could be done to revive religion though Pope Gregory XVI had empowered three of the priests there to administer Confirmation. When the war between Mexico and the United States broke out in 1846, Santa Fé was one of the first places to fall into the hands of the Americans, an event that filled Bishop de Zubiría with alarm as portending the utter ruin of Catholicism. In point of fact it was a blessing, as is evident from a comparison of present-day New Mexico and Arizona with Mexico. The war ended disastrously for Mexico, and she was obliged to cede an immense territory, though the United States generously paid fifteen million dollars for what had been acquired by force of arms. New Mexico was included in the transfer, the formal cession being made in the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo (1848), but the Bishop of Durango considered his authority unaffected by the political change and, receiving no notification from Rome to do otherwise, continued to regard himself as the ecclesiastical ruler of New Mexico. He even made a formal visitation in 1850, two years after the country had come under the

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American flag, and issued an exhortation to his people to stand firm in the Faith now that it was endangered by contact with heretics. In the meantime, however, the American hierarchy had undertaken to make representations at Rome with a view to bringing New Mexico into the American hierarchical system, without (apparently) consulting Bishop de Zubiría. This was done in good faith, as not much was known about that remote region, and the authorities in the United States were unaware that New Mexico already had a bishop—had had one, in fact, for many scores of years. A similar oversight had occurred in California back in 1834, when the Picpus Fathers discussed the establishment of a Vicariate-Apostolic there without saying anything to the Bishop of Sonora, in whose diocese California was included. The difficulty of communicating in those days with such far-off corners of the world amply explains these incidents. But the fact that the Ordinary of Durango was not made privy to these negotiations created a little difficulty for the new Vicar-General. For Pope Pius IX proceeded without delay to erect the Vicariate of New Mexico, to take in Arizona, New Mexico and Colorado, and appointed to the new post Father John Lamy, a priest of the Diocese of Cincinnati. He was consecrated in 1850 and immediately set out for his field of labor; but an accident detained him a long time in San Antonio and he did not reach Santa Fé until the summer of 1851. He found the clergy indisposed to recognize his authority, claiming the Bishop of Durango for their superior. So the Vicar-Apostolic found himself under the necessity of undertaking a journey into Mexico to seek a personal interview with Bishop de Zubiría. As far as concerned the two bishops, the matter was amicably adjusted, but there was to be further trouble with the priests. This, however, is outside our present scope.

As to Arizona (the "Pimeria Alta" of the Spaniards), it was technically a part of the diocese of Durango, but the only occasions on which anything like episcopal jurisdiction was exercised within its boundaries were: 1. When Bishop Crespo went there in 1725, as we have already told; 2. When the Bishop of Sonora sent a certain Father Moreno there to make a visitation in 1797, though it was not subject to Sonora. When Arizona entered the Union Catholicism was about extinct. The additional territory acquired in 1853 (the "Gadsden Purchase") was added to the care of Bishop Lamy.

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2. Texas

Though a French expedition under La Salle had entered Texas in 1685, Spain can justly claim the honor of first planting the faith there, for no permanent mission was established until 1690, when Franciscans from Mexico built their little chapel at San Antonio de los Texas. From that time to the end of Spanish rule, the missionary labors were almost, but not quite, continuous; the remoteness of the region from the centres of administration, the unfriendliness of some of the Spanish military commanders, and the character of the Indians, combined more than once to interrupt the work. In the circumstances there could not be frequent exercise of episcopal authority in those parts, though the more energetic and more enterprising of the bishops did manage to penetrate this outlying portion of their diocese. The vast region lying north and northeast of the Rio Grande was at first under the Bishop of Guadalajara. Then, in 1777, the See of Linares was erected, and Texas passed under that jurisdiction. When along with the rest of Mexico Texas separated from Spain, no change was made in ecclesiastical administration. But in 1833 Texas seceded from the Mexican Republic and set up an independent government, securing recognition from the United States, England, France and Belgium; and during this period the Church organization was reconstructed, the district being withdrawn from the diocese of Linares and constituted into a Vicariate-Apostolic. This was its status when Texas entered the American Union in 1845.

The earliest instance of episcopal rule occurred in 1700, under Bishop Felipe Galindo of Guadalajara. Learning, on a visit to the Mission of Dolores (in the modern Mexican State of Nuevo Leon), that the missions were prospering, he ordered the erection of four additional ones along the Rio Grande. This order was obeyed, but twenty years later the new missions had died out. That the Bishops of Guadalajara continued to rule in Texas may be gathered from the appointment in 1746 of a diocesan priest to the Parish of San Antonio and the publication there in the same year of the bishop's edict setting the number of Holy Days in his diocese (sixteen, beside Sundays). But the first visitation was made by the famous Bishop Tejada. We have already seen how conscientiously and unsparingly this prelate gave himself to the struggling community of St. Augustine in its declining days.

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Transferred to Yucatán in 1745, he displayed the same zeal, personally investigating every part of his territory. He visited even the smallest ranch, and in more than one instance repaired an old church or built a new one out of his own income. In 1752 he was again transferred, this time to Guadalajara, and immediately set about studying for himself the state of affairs. Traveling over the immense territory then embraced in the diocese he reached Texas in 1759 and as a sample of the minuteness with which he conducted his inspection, we shall give a brief account of his experience at the Parish of San Fernando (at San Antonio). When after a ceremonious entry into the church, he had taken his place in the sanctuary, the secretary read the usual formal announcements and then the bishop delivered a lengthy address chiefly on the Sacrament of Confirmation. After this came the examination, and he was not greatly pleased with what it revealed. The only "ornament" in the building was a picture of Saint Ferdinand over the Altar. There was no tabernacle, no ambry, no censer, no copy of the ritual—in fact there was almost nothing. After this the bishop was not astonished at learning that hardly anybody ever attended service there, the people preferring to receive the Sacraments at one of the missions, which seem to have been kept in better condition. He did what he could, ordering the necessary improvements and the establishment of a school and of regular catechetical instruction. He also insisted that the parishioners attend their own church in future; and as preliminary to all these reforms he removed the pastor and put a more energetic man in his place. He remained there a week, confirming about six hundred and fifty, and then left to continue his inspection of the churches in other parts of Texas. In the course of his journey he suffered a fall from his horse which proved fatal, the good man passing away the following year without recrossing the Rio Grande. Thus his episcopal career was begun and ended within the present boundaries of the United States.

In 1777 the See of Linares (now usually known as Nuevo Leon, the See-city being at Monterey in that State) was formed out of Guadalajara, embracing the north-eastern portion of Mexico and Texas, but more than a quarter of a century went by before a bishop from the new diocese reached Texas. This was Primo Feliciano Marín de Porras who came in 1805, but was never to

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make another visit, for soon afterward he was driven out by the revolutionary government of Mexico and died in 1815 without being allowed to return to his diocese. The year after his decease was signalized by an extraordinary "visitation." In this year (1816) one of the numerous armed bands then infesting Mexico invaded Texas under General Mina and with it came an ecclesiastic styling himself "Bishop of Baltimore." This person proceeded to perform episcopal functions and on at least one occasion celebrated Mass with pulque instead of wine. This was no other than the Rev. Servando Mier, a Mexican priest who is well known in connection with the Hogan Schism in Philadelphia. His career so amply illustrates the difficulties of the Church at that period that he deserves at least a few words here. He first acquired fame in Mexico by attacking, in a public sermon on a feast of Our Lady, the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception, dear to Spanish hearts centuries before it was defined by the Pope. This caused so much commotion that Mier was cast into prison for trial but escaped. He next turned up in England as an intimate of the Rev. Blanco White, the apostate Spanish priest who figures in the early history of the Oxford Movement and is mentioned in Newman's *Apologia*. His next achievement was the exercise of episcopal authority in Texas, after which he made his way to Philadelphia, entering that city at the height of the Hogan trouble. He sided with the priest against Bishop Conwell and a document was published as coming from him in which a formal judicial decision was rendered against the bishop, while the trustees of St. Joseph's tried to make the parishioners believe that Mier was a Papal Nuncio sent to administer the affairs of the Church in the United States. Impossible as such a career may seem, it is not without parallels in the history of those times. The only tangible result of his ministration in Texas was a warning from the diocesan authorities in Linares against him and a censure from the bishop.

Mexico was now engaged in the struggle for independence and the bishop appointed to Linares in 1817 (José Ignacio de Aranzibia) found that his diocese had suffered severely from the political disturbances. He never succeeded in visiting Texas; in fact, he was forced to suspend even written communication, in consequence of the prohibition by the new government of pastoral letters. But Texas soon began to drift from the republic; many

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Americans were crossing the border and making their homes there, and in 1833 the State seceded and established an independent government. It took three years of fighting to expel the Mexican troops and this did not help religion. So desperate became the condition of the Church that in 1838 Bishop Blanc of New Orleans, at the request of Pope Gregory XVI, sent the Lazarist Father Timon to investigate and report. He found the church buildings fallen into decay or seized by Protestants, the Catholic population dwindled to a handful and only two priests in the whole State to attend them. The result of his examination was that the Pope appointed him Prefect-Apostolic of Texas with the power to administer Confirmation. With Father Odin (the future Archbishop of New Orleans) as Vice-Prefect, he labored hard for about three years, obtaining priests and securing the return of a good deal of church property, and was so successful that in 1841 the Pope erected Texas into a Vicariate-Apostolic under Father Odin. This was its ecclesiastical government when in 1845 Texas entered the American Union.

3. California

What we now call the State of California and the (Mexican) Territory of Lower California went in the days of Spanish rule by the common name of "California" or "The Californias" and for nearly two centuries was supposed to be an island. The earliest penetration of Upper California (our State of California) was under Cabrillo in 1542, but except for an occasional visit by a Manila galleon, the Spaniards paid little or no attention to the land. It was not until 1769 that they undertook to occupy it, and then chiefly because of the advance of the Russians southward along the Pacific Coast. California was thus annexed to the Spanish crown as a buffer colony, just as Florida, had been two centuries before. And in both cases the danger apprehended from the intruders was religious as well as secular, the French, who attempted the settlement of Florida, being undesirable as Protestants no less than as foreigners, while the Russians were alien not only in race but in religion as well. There is no need to repeat here the tale of the Franciscan Missions established in California toward the close of the eighteenth century. Suffice it to say that their very success, coupled with the enormous distance from Mexico, rendered the episcopal annals extremely meagre. There was

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little occasion for any bishop to exercise his authority until the nineteenth century, and then the one to do so was the Bishop of Sonora. This diocese, proposed by the civil authorities in 1770, was erected by Pope Pius VI in 1779 (the papal action being confirmed by royal order two years later) and embraced the (present) States of Sonora, Sinaloa and California, along with Lower California, the Cathedral being in Arizpe. The first bishop, Antonio de los Reyes, took possession in 1783, but as he was a Franciscan, the erection of the new diocese made no difference to the missions in California beyond the appointment of Father Serra as Prefect. Though active in visitations this bishop never reached California, and as time went on the suggestion was made and accepted (but not acted on) to appoint a vicar for each of the Californias. The connection, down to 1840, with the See of Arizpe remained exceedingly tenuous, about the only matters that the bishop had to deal with being cases of "The Right of Sanctuary," or the burial of a stray Russian (a schismatic, of course) who happened to die on the coast. The bishop's letter announcing the death of Pius VII and the accession of Leo XII and commanding the due observance of these events was officially circulated, as was a similar letter on the occasion of the accession of Pope Pius VIII. And in 1821, an episcopal prohibition of waltzing was published, but not over-scrupulously obeyed. Some years previously (in 1813) the Spanish Cortés decreed that the Indian missions more than ten years old be taken from the regulars and made parishes under the care of the diocesan clergy, but this decree which might naturally have been expected to bring about closer relations with the bishop, was not even published in Mexico until 1821, and as Spanish power was reduced to practically nothing by that time the decree remained ineffective. In 1833 the Congress of Mexico passed a law with substantially the same purpose, and in 1835 the same body voted the establishment of the Diocese of Both Californias, setting aside three thousand dollars for the outfit of the new bishop besides an annual salary of six thousand dollars and the "Pious Fund." Those familiar with Mexican history will be prepared for the information that nothing of this was paid. The Church, however, did her part. The Bull erecting the proposed diocese was signed by Pope Gregory XVI in 1840 and the bishop, a Franciscan named Francisco García Diego

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y Moreno, was consecrated at Zacatecas the same year. He proceeded at once to his territory and fixed his residence at Monterey, from which he set out on a visitation that included Santa Clara, San Francisco, San Antonio and San José. But his position was most difficult. Religion had decayed in California as it had in the Southwest generally at the time and since the Mexican Government did not fulfil its glittering promises of financial support (all the bishop ever received was a grant of land on which he built a seminary) and the people could not be induced to support the Church, the outlook was almost hopeless. Some conception of the struggle that had to be carried on may be formed from the fact that when Bishop Moreno attempted to build a Cathedral at Santa Barbara he frequently had to carry the stones himself.

A second visitation in 1844 so discouraged him that from that time to his death he made no attempt to accomplish anything outside the vicinity of Santa Barbara. He had appointed a Vicar-General who was to act as administrator until a new bishop should be appointed, but this was almost immediately nullified by the breaking out of war with the United States. The transfer of California to American sovereignty coincided almost exactly with the discovery of gold, and then the "Great Rush" began. Among the crowds of fortune hunters were many Catholics who, whatever may have been their failings, had the faith, for they at once busied themselves with putting up little churches, and then petitioned the American hierarchy to have a bishop appointed. When the matter was referred to Rome a rather confused situation was revealed. Some persons there seem not to have known about the war between Mexico and the United States and the consequent change of government in California. Moreover, there was already under consideration a project that had been conceived some fifteen years before. In 1835 the Prefect of the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii) with one of his priests was driven out by the natives and took refuge in California. The two missioners (members of the Society of Picpus) were kindly received by the Franciscans and undertook work in the land to which they had come. As this was the time that the Mexican Government was destroying the missions it was thought that the Picpus Fathers might take the place of the Padres and communication was made to the Superior in Paris and to the Propaganda with this end in view, and as a

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means to the success of the new laborers a proposal was advanced to erect California into a vicariate with one of the Picpus Fathers at the head. So far as appears not a word was said to the Bishop of Sonora (the Ordinary) or to the Mexican government, which would indicate the haziness of the ideas entertained regarding American geography. But, though the Mexicans drove out the two priests, the matter was still being discussed when the petition for a new diocese in California reached Rome. To add to the confusion a rumor spread that a person calling himself a Papal Nuncio was traveling about California. Evidently no time was to be lost. Temporary jurisdiction over California was conferred on Bishop Odin of Texas, and soon after (1850) Pope Pius IX erected the Diocese of Monterey and appointed Father Montgomery, a Dominican. On his declining the See, it was given to the Rev. José Alemany who was consecrated in Rome on June 13 of that year. And when in 1851 Lower California was severed from his jurisdiction the last link with the Spanish-American hierarchy was broken.

REV. EDWIN A. RYAN, D.D.,
Dunwoodie, N. Y.

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FATHER ESCOBAR'S RELATION OF THE OÑATE EXPEDITION TO CALIFORNIA

(*Here made known and published for the first time.*)

A serious gap in the documentation of the early history of the Southwest has at last been filled through the discovery of the diary of Father Escobar here published. In 1604 Juan de Oñate, Governor and Adelantado of New Mexico, and founder of the province, made an important expedition from the Río Grande to the Gulf of California. Hitherto our principal source of information regarding the event has been Father Zárate Salmerón's *Relaciones*,[1] written many years after the expedition by a person who did not take part in it. Though Zárate's account bears on its face evidence that it was based on first-hand information, in our ignorance of his source it has manifestly been unsatisfactory.[2] The discovery of an original narrative of the expedition, therefore, is a long step toward placing Oñate's journey on a reliable basis. It adds to our satisfaction to learn that Zárate's account is founded directly on the diary by Escobar, and that our anchor heretofore has been more secure than we knew. It is only fair to say, moreover, that Zárate adds numerous details not given by Escobar, which must have been obtained from eye-witnesses.

Father Escobar's diary came to light recently in the Archivo General de Indias, that vast fountain of information concerning early American history.[3] It is given here in English translation. Its contents will be more intelligible if it is preceded by a brief sketch of Oñate's activities previous to the expedition of which the diary is an account.

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[1] *Relaciones de Todas las cosas que en el Nuevo Mexico se han visto y Savido, asi por mar como por tierra, desde el año de* 1538 *hasta el de* 1626. (Printed in *Documentos para la Historia de Mexico*, tercera serie, Mexico, 1856. Translated by Charles F. Lummis in *Land of Sunshine*, Vols. xi and xii, 1899-1900. The part relating to the California expedition was retranslated and published by Bolton in *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 1542–1706, pp. 268–280. This version contains portions which Lummis, by oversight, omitted.)

[2] Apparently in 1626.

[3] It is contained in a file of papers entitled: *Carta del Marques de Montesclaros á S. M. Acompaña varias copias.* A. G. I. 58-3-9. Through the Newberry Library a transcript has recently been acquired by the Bancroft Library.

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Having been entrusted in 1595 with the conquest of New Mexico, in the summer of 1598, Oñate reached the region of the Pueblo Indians with a colony of some four hundred persons and seven thousand head of stock. In his company he brought eight Franciscan missionaries, led by Fray Alonso Martínez as commissary, to undertake the conversion of the natives.

Headquarters were first fixed at San Juan, and later at San Gabriel.[4] On August 23 a church was begun at San Juan and its completion was celebrated on September 8. Next day a general assembly was held of representatives from all the country thus far explored; rods of office were given to some of the chiefs, and the various pueblos were assigned to the eight Franciscan missionaries, who soon afterwards departed for their respective charges.

The colony having been established and the pueblos having been placed under the friars, Oñate turned his attention to a search for more attractive fields beyond. Three regions especially beckoned to him and tugged at the adventurous spirit within him. These were the Llanos de Cíbola, or Buffalo Plains, Gran Quivira, and California, for the exploration of each of which expeditions were organized, in spite of the Adelantado's slender means.

In the middle of September Oñate sent Vicente de Zaldívar, accompanied by sixty men, to hunt buffalo on the plains to the northeast. Going through Pecos, where they left two missionaries, they continued to a point seventy leagues from San Juan, reaching the Texas Panhandle. Though they failed in their attempt to capture buffalo alive, they obtained a large supply of hides and meat and made the acquaintance of the Vaquero Apaches and of a large stretch of country.

While Zaldívar was away, Oñate, accompanied by the Father Commissary, went southeast and visited the great salines and the Jumano pueblos, then turned west with the intention of going to the South Sea, where Oñate hoped to find wealth in pearls. He made his way to Zuñi, and to the Moqui towns, whence he sent Captain Marcos Farfán with a party of followers to find the

[4] It has recently been shown that by June, 1601, the Spanish settlement and capital had been moved across the river to San Gabriel, below the junction of the Chama with the Río Grande. BOLTON, *op. cit.*, 203, footnote. In 1609 Santa Fé was founded.

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mines discovered by Espejo eighteen years before. Farfán made the journey to Bill Williams Fork, found mineral veins, staked out claims, and brought back detailed reports. In the course of the expedition he visited Jumano Indians near San Francisco Mountains, and the Cruzados further southwest.[5]

In November Juan de Zaldívar followed Oñate, intending to join him in his expedition to the South Sea, but at Ácoma he was killed, with fourteen companions, by the Indians. News of this misfortune reached Oñate while on his way back to San Juan, in December, and in January, 1599, he sent Vicente de Zaldívar to avenge his kinsman's death. After a two days' assault, with hand-to-hand fighting, the Indians surrendered. The official diary laconically adds: "Most of them were killed and punished by fire and bloodshed, and the pueblo was completely laid waste and burned."

A few months later (1599) Vicente de Zaldívar, with twenty-five companions, made a three-months journey in another attempt to reach the South Sea. On the way he had difficulty with the Jumanos, and Oñate found it necessary to go in person with fifty soldiers to punish the offenders. Zaldívar continued his journey till he reached impassable mountains and a hostile tribe, at a point which, he was told, was three days from the sea. Exact data concerning this journey have not yet been acquired. So interested was Oñate now in the project of reaching the South Sea that he planned to go in person with a hundred men and prepared to build vessels. In April, 1601, he was all ready to start, but he changed his plans and went northeast instead.

His goal now was Gran Quivira, to find which he set forth in June (1601). He was accompanied by two friars and more than seventy picked men; he had in his caravan more than seven hundred horses and mules, eight carts, four cannon, and a retinue of servants to carry the baggage. His guide was an Indian named Joseph, who had led Zaldívar to the Llanos de Cíbola and who had accompanied Humaña on a previous expedition to Quivira. Going by way of Galisteo, Oñate crossed the Pecos to the Río de la Madalena (Canadian River). Descending that stream to a great bend 111 leagues from the pueblo of San Gabriel, he

[5] The interesting custom which gave rise to the name "Cruzados" is described below.

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continued northeast to a point on the Arkansas River more than 220 leagues from the starting point. Fording the Arkansas, he visited the extensive settlement called Quivira, through which Humaña had passed. It was evidently at Wichita, Kansas. The Quiviras appearing hostile, the journey was now discontinued.[6]

The next two years were for Oñate a time of grave trials. When he returned from Kansas he found that most of his colony had gone back to Mexico, to avoid starvation, as they claimed, but as deserters, Oñate asserted. Just as he was pleading for three hundred additional men, under royal pay, to enable him to continue his explorations, grave charges of mismanagement and misconduct were made against him. He was ruined in fortune and his reputation was under a cloud. The great expectations with which the conquest of New Mexico had been begun had failed to materialize, and the province was already regarded as a "white elephant" on the government's hands. Moreover, just at this moment new interest was attached to California through the successful expedition of Vizcaíno, who returned in 1603 reporting the discovery of Monterey Bay.[7]

It was therefore with the hope of "making a hit" and restoring his prestige that Oñate again set out for the West in 1604. For the undertaking he raised a company of thirty men, most of them raw recruits, says Zárate. With him he took the new Father Commissary, Fray Francisco de Escobar, and Fray Juan de Buenaventura, a lay brother. Escobar, according to Zárate, was a very learned man, with a special gift for languages. That he was an interesting person his own diary attests.

Leaving San Gabriel in October, the party followed in the footsteps of Espejo and Farfán to Bill Williams Fork. Descending that stream to the Colorado they skirted its left bank to the Gulf of California, returning to New Mexico in April, 1605. Oñate had now re-explored practically all of the ground covered by the Coronado and Espejo expeditions and had opened new trails.

On his return to San Gabriel, Oñate set out for Mexico to make

[6] The foregoing sketch is based on the writer's account, *op. cit.*, 109–206.

[7] This paragraph is based on an unpublished study by the author entitled "The Last Years of Oñate's Rule and the Founding of Santa Fe," written in 1916.

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known his success and retrieve his fortunes. Reporting his approach on August 7 from San Bartolomé, he was ordered back to New Mexico by the viceroy. In consequence, he sent Father Escobar forward to the capital, where he made the report here printed. New interest was now aroused in California, and in the "famous port" which Oñate had discovered, but it profited Oñate little, and two years later he resigned, discouraged. It seems quite certain, too, that the reports of the Oñate expedition, which depicted the Gulf as extending indefinitely north, had much to do with restoring the old belief that California was an island.

RELATION

No. 12. This is a copy, well and faithfully made, of a Relation which Fray Francisco de Escobar, of the order of San Francisco, and said to be Commissary-General of the provinces of New Mexico, appears to have given and delivered to the Most Excellent Marqués de Montesclaros, viceroy in this New Spain, of a certain exploration and of declarations made by the said Fray Francisco. Its tenor is as follows:

Three hundred and sixty leagues from the City of Mexico toward the north pole, on the banks of a large river called Río del Norte (since it flows toward the south) there are seven or eight provinces or nations of people of different languages, commonly called by the Spaniards "New Mexicans." There must be as many as thirty thousand souls. It is a very poor and cold country, with heavy snows, but is quite habitable for a small number of Spaniards if they have clothing with which to dress, and if they take from the pacified country[9] cattle with which to sustain themselves and cultivate the soil, for the country produces none of these, although cattle taken to it multiply rapidly, though it is too barren to raise great numbers of them.

The people of these provinces are very affable and docile. All are settled in pueblos, which, for Indian habitations, are very convenient, having many good *estufas* in each pueblo, which, with little fire, are very warm, and wherein they pass the cold and snows of winter.[10] Their dress consists of *mantas* of cotton, which they make in these pueblos, and of white and very well dressed buckskins, of which they have enough for their mode of living, for they are content with little. But they have far from enough to give them as tribute to the

[9] *Tierra de paz*, meaning conquered or settled country, as distinguished from the unsubdued frontier.

[10] *Estufas* were primarily ceremonial chambers, but it is noticeable that nearly all of the early Spanish chroniclers who had been in New Mexico regarded them as being designed in part to afford protection from the cold. Their opinion was, no doubt, founded on careful observation. Escobar, for example, had been in New Mexico many months and had been in most intimate contact with the Indians when he wrote the above.

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Spaniards,[11] and this burden is so heavy for them that many desert their pueblos during the time for the collection of this tribute, and for this reason the amount collected is very small, although it is a great impediment to their conversion. If they were relieved of this tribute, and there were interpreters to preach to them and teach them our Holy Faith, I believe that most of them would receive it readily, but it will be with no little difficulty if the collection of tribute is continued. It is very harmful to them and of so little consequence to the Spaniards that, although collected each year, they suffer extreme nakedness, and that those who may have to live in these provinces, escorting the ministers of the Gospel, will be in no way able to forego the necessary aid of clothing to dress and protect themselves, and of cattle for food and to work and cultivate their farms and fields.

The Indians of this country plant maize, which is their ordinary food, and also frijoles and calabashes.[12] In the winter they use skins or hides of the buffalo, tanned and very well dressed, with very soft hair, which are brought to these provinces to exchange for cornmeal and cotton *mantas*, by the Indians who come with the buffalo,[13] and who live customarily in tents or portable houses made of the same hides.[14] Their ordinary pack-animals are dogs,[15] which they drive along the roads loaded.[16]

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[11] Twenty-five years later Father Benavidas wrote: "The tribute which the Indians pay them is for each house one *manta*, which is one *vara* of cotton cloth, and one *anega* of corn each year, wherewith the needy Spaniards maintain themselves." Ayer, Hodge, and Lummis, *The Memorial of Fray Alonso de Benavides*, p. 23. A *vara* is 33 inches, or a little less than a yard. A *fanega* varied at the time from a bushel and a half to two bushels and a half.

[12] *Calavasas*, variously used for pumpkins, squashes, or gourds.

[13] *Vacas de Cíbola*, literally, Cíbola cattle.

[14] The following description of the tents of these Indians of the plains is given by Vicente de Zaldívar, in a report of his journey to the east in 1598: "He camped for the night at that river, and on the following day, on his way back to the camp, he found a ranchería in which there were fifty tents made of tanned hides, very bright red and white in color and bell-shaped, with flaps and openings, and built as skilfully as those of Italy and so large that in the most ordinary ones four different mattresses and beds were easily accommodated. The tanning is so fine that although it should rain bucketfuls it will not pass through nor stiffen the hide, but rather upon drying it remains as soft and pliable as before. This being so wonderful, he wanted to experiment, and, cutting off a piece of hide from one of the tents, it was soaked and placed to dry in the sun, but it remained as before, and as pliable as if it had never been wet. The *sargento mayor* bartered for a tent and brought it to this camp, and although it was so very large, as has been stated, it did not weigh over two *arrobas*." Zaldívar, "Account of the Discovery of the Buffalo," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 226-227.

[15] Zaldívar gives the following description of the dog teams, or *travois*, of these Indians. "To carry this load, the poles that they use to set it up, and a knapsack of meat and their *pinole*, or maize, the Indians use a medium-sized shaggy dog, which is their substitute for mules. They drive great trains of them. Each, girt round its breast and haunches, and carrying a load of flour of at least one hundred pounds, travels as fast as his master. It is a sight worth seeing and very laughable to see them traveling, the ends of the poles dragging on the ground, nearly all of them snarling in their encounters, traveling one after another on their journey. In order to load them the Indian women seize their heads between their knees and thus load them, or adjust the load, which is seldom required, because they travel along at a steady gait as if they had been trained by means of reins." *Ibid*, p. 227.

[16] Everything to this point is omitted from Zárate's account.

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From these provinces of New Mexico their Governor and Adelantado, Juan de Oñate, set forth on October 7 of the year 1604 with thirty soldiers, to discover the South Sea or Gulf of California. I went in his company, being commissary of the religious who were in the said provinces. Having journeyed fifty[17] leagues almost directly west, we arrived at the province of Cuñi, which contains six pueblos,[18] four of them being almost destroyed, although all are inhabited. The largest and chief one is called by the Spaniards Scibola, and the Indians know it by this name, although in their own language it is called Hauico.[19] All the pueblos together contain less than three hundred inhabited houses.[20] The people are very affable and tractable. They take to their houses and pueblos the Spaniards who pass through this province, and with great pleasure and affability serve and feed them with the foods which they possses. These consist of maize, frijoles, hares, and rabbits, in which the country greatly abounds.[21] They clothe or cover themselves with buckskins, and in winter with buffalo hides, which they carry from the provinces where the Spaniards now are; but what they use most commonly are *mantas*, which they make from a small palm, netted, like *yztea*[22] in New Spain or hemp in Spain, but not so strong. The houses in which they live are excellent, for Indians, all being of stone, and there being very good *estufas* in each pueblo for the cold of the winter, which is very severe.

Having journeyed about twenty leagues almost northwest, we reached the the province of Moqui, a country as poor and cold as the province of Cuñi or as those of New Mexico. It has five pueblos only, four of them being half destroyed and in ruins. Altogether they have less than five hundred inhabited houses.[23] The people are very friendly toward the Spaniards when they pass through this province, serving and feeding them with great pleasure and friendliness. Judging from what is exhibited by the Indians living in these pueblos, they plant and gather much maize and have more than those of the province of Cuñi. They also plant frijoles, calabashes, and cotton, of which they make *mantas*, coloring[24] them better than in other provinces, though the best *mantas*.

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[17] Zárate says sixty leagues. *Ibid.*, p. 268.

[18] Zárate adds that in all six pueblos "there are no more than three hundred terraced houses of many stories, like those of New Mexico." "Journey of Oñate to California by Land," in Bolton, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 268.

[19] Hawikuh. See Hodge, *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, I, p. 539.

[20] Zárate says "three hundred houses of many stories." "Journey of Oñate to California," in Bolton, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

[21] Zárate says "more inhabited by hares and rabbits than by Indians." *Ibid.*, p. 268.

[22] *Istli*. Zárate, *ibid.*, p. 268.

[23] Zárate, writing twenty years later, says "four hundred and fifty." *Ibid.*, p. 268.

[24] Here Zárate adds a paragraph on colors, but leaves out most of Escobar's descriptive matter, as well known in his day. *Ibid.*, p. 269.

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of this land are coarse, and these, together with very well tanned buckskins, and in the winter with buffalo skins, constitute the clothing with which they cover or clothe themselves. There is very little wood and less water. In all this province there are very good *estufas* in each pueblo, so that with little fuel they are very warm all winter. The houses are not so good as those of the province of Cuñi, but are not very bad for their mode of life. Moreover, in this province, as in all the rest, they use no temples for their worship, although some houses in which they live have been seen to be dedicated to their ceremonies and worship, and to have in them some little idols of stone or wood, with figures of little animals, simple and ill-shaped, according to what I have been able to gather. I do not think that these houses are much frequented, nor by everybody, but only by the principal and oldest Indians.

Ten leagues from this province toward the west we arrived at a river called San Joseph,[25] because on its banks that feast was celebrated. At this point it runs from southeast to northwest. It is a river with dense groves, but does not carry much water except in the season when the snows melt, which is between March and June or July, during which time I should think one could take by this river to the Gulf of California and the Port or Bay of the Conversion,[26] many planks and beams, from some great pine forests which are not far from the stream. From the forests to the sea it must be more than one hundred and twenty leagues,[27] more or less, for I am sure that this river empties into another large one which enters the Port of the Conversion, of which I shall treat farther on.

Seventeen leagues from this river toward the West we reached another called San Antonio.[28] It ran from north to south between great mountain chains. From this stream onward the country is more temperate and warmer, and has plentiful pasturage and water. The river does not carry much water, although it runs all the year. It had many good fish.

Five leagues from this river toward the West we saw another as large as it and with as many fish. It is called the Sacramento. It ran from northwest to southeast along the skirts of a high range whence the Spaniards have obtained many copper ores from some mines discovered by Antonio de Espejo.[29]

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[25] Zárate says San José or Colorado, and adds: "They called it thus because the water is nearly red." *Ibid.*, p. 269.

[26] The Gulf of California. See below.

[27] Zárate says that "from here to where it empties into the sea there are more than a hundred leagues of pine forests." *Ibid.*, p. 269. This is not what Escobar says and is not exactly true to fact.

[28] Zárate states that before reaching the San Antonio River they crossed a "range of pine forest which was eight leagues across, on whose southern slope runs the San Antonio River, seventeen leagues distant from San José." *Ibid.*, p. 269. The San Antonio was clearly a western branch of the Río Verde of today.

[29] This point, adding new light on Espejo's journey, is omitted by Zárate. The latter, on the other hand, adds a description of the region of the Sacramento River. *Ibid.*, pp. 269-270.

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In this country there are Indians whom the Spaniards call Cruzados,[30] from crosses made of cane which most of them wear on their foreheads. The origin of this custom is not known, but is thought to have come from Christians,[31] for when there are Spaniards in their country they wear them more commonly. The people are very friendly amongst themselves. They neither plant nor harvest maize nor frijoles, but live on the flesh of deer and wild sheep, for they have the skins of deer and the heads and horns of sheep, although the horns of the latter are very disproportionate in size. Of these there are many in this country, and of deer, from whose skins they make buckskin, with which all the men and women clothe themselves, for it constitutes their ordinary dress. They also eat maguey, tunas, mesquite, and a little fruit which grows on the cedars, of which there are great forests.[32]

We traveled ten or twelve leagues along the banks of this river to its source;[33] and having journeyed from there almost sixteen leagues west, we came to another river, which was called San Andres,[34] because it was discovered on that day. It runs toward the west between the high and very rough ranges, which are bare and without vegetation, all being almost bald rock. This may be due to the heat of the summer, which, judging from the appearance of the country, is great. Ordinarily the river does not carry water, except for short distances, where it bursts or gushes out from the sand, although it shows signs of great freshets.[35] From this river onward the country has a different climate, for it does not snow and has no manner of cold, nor did we feel any, although it was midwinter, being in the month of December.

Traveling along this river, almost always in its bed, for its banks were almost all of rocky cliffs, we arrived, after traveling twenty leagues,[36] at another river,

[30] The Yavapai.

[31] Zárate, writing twenty years later, adds: "The origin of this custom was not known at that time; subsequently it has been learned that many years ago there traveled through that land a religious of my father San Francisco, who told them that if at any time they should see men bearded and white, in order that they might not molest or injure them they should put on these crosses, as a thing esteemed by them. They remembered it so well that they have not forgotten it." *Ibid.*, p. 270.

[32] Zárate adds: "The men are well featured and noble; the women are handsome, with beautiful eyes, and are affectionate. These Indians said that the sea was distant from there twenty days' journey, such as they travel, which are calculated at about five leagues. It is to be noted that none of these nations was caught in a lie. They also said that two days' journey beyond there was a river of little water [Bill Williams Fork] by which they went to a very large one which enters the sea [the Colorado] and on whose banks there was a nation called Amacava [Mohave], and, a short distance beyond, many nations who plant and gather maize, beans, and gourds." *Ibid.*, p. 270. The Yavapai women are still noted for their good looks.

[33] The account here is more precise than the summary of it given by Zárate, who does not state that the journey was along the river. *Ibid.*, p. 270. Their distances likewise disagree.

[34] The main stream of Bill Williams Fork.

[35] The details contained in the last two sentences are omitted by Zárate. He, on the other hand, mentions the *pitahayas* of the Colorado.

[36] Zárate says twenty-four leagues. *Ibid.*, p. 271.

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large like the Duero in Spain. It was named Río de Buena Esperanza, because we reached it on the day of the expectation or hope of the most happy parturition of the Virgin Mary, our Lady.[37] Where it joins the San Andres it flows from northwest to southeast, and from here turns northeast-southwest[38] to the sea or Gulf of California, bearing on either side high ranges, between which it forms a very wide river bottom, all densely populated by people on both sides of the river, clear to the sea, which seemed to me fifty leagues from there, a very little more or less, during all of which distance the river appeared to be navigable, according to men who understand navigation and as was inferred from its very gentle current.

The first nation of people whom we saw on this river was called Amacava.[39] We found them very friendly. They gave us maize, frijoles, and calabashes, which is the ordinary food of all the people of their river, and which they plant in all its bottom lands; but it did not seem to me that they had a great abun-

[37] The stream was the Colorado River. Zárate adds the statement that at its mouth the stream was called Río del Tizón.

[38] "Northeast" has become "northwest" in the Zárate account as printed.

[39] Zárate adds two very interesting paragraphs at this point, recounting incidents which may have been related to him by members of the party, or, perhaps, traditions which may have grown up in the course of twenty years. Zárate's account at this point is so different from Escobar's that it is inserted here. It is as follows: "The next day after having arrived, the adelantado sent Captain Gerónimo Márquez with four soldiers up the river to discover this nation of the Amacavas Indians. In a short time he brought two Indians, whom the adelantado regaled and sent to call the rest. They said that they would do it and that they would bring something to eat. On the day following, as the adelantado saw the Indians were making loads, he ordered that twelve soldiers should prepare to go to the settlement for provisions; but before the soldiers went, there arrived more than forty Indians loaded with maize, beans, and gourds. Then arose an Indian who was called Curraca, which in their language means Lord, and made a long speech, giving to understand, as was supposed, that he was pleased to have seen the Spaniards and that he desired their friendship.

"Here was heard the first news of the Lake of Copalla, whence they suppose the Mexicans set out who settled this New Spain. They described this lake and land and all its banks as densely populated. An Indian said Copalla very plainly and Captain Gerónimo Marquez told me that, hearing those Indians talk to a Mexican Indian, servant of a soldier, one of them asked, Whence comes this man? Is he perhaps from Copalla? because those from there talk thus. And those Indians also said that those of that language wore bracelets of gold on the wrists and on the fleshy part of the arms and in their ears, and that from there they were fourteen days' journey, of those which they traveled. They pointed to this language between west and northwest. The Indians also said that the Spaniards could travel by this river bottom all the way to the sea, and that it was ten days' journey, of those which they travel, and that it was all populated. This river can be navigated.

"They set out from here and traveled five leagues without seeing Indians, because the mountain was very rough and the road narrow and steep; but beyond this narrow pass there is a wide river bottom, very thickly settled. Here as many Indians came out with food to receive the Spaniards as in the last ranchería. They are of the same nation. Being asked about the sea they said that down the river it was nine days'

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dance of maize, and I attribute this to their laziness, for the very spacious bottoms appeared to offer opportunity to plant much more, and for fields and Spaniards, although it had very little grass for cattle, since all the mountains and hills are bald, there being no grass except in the river bottom and not everywhere there. These Indians also obtain much food from mesquite, with which the entire bottom is covered, and from the seeds of grass which they gather in great quantity, which does not argue a great abundance of maize. Although we saw many and large corn patches, they were small in proportion to the large population.

Adjacent to this nation there is another on this same river called Bahacecha.[40] They speak a somewhat different language, although the difference, being slight, is no impediment, the dealings and communication between them being as if they were of the same language. As a people they are as friendly and tractable as the Amacava, if not more so. They welcomed us with great affability and pleasure, giving us of their slender stock of provisions in all the rancherías through which we passed, a great multitude of Indians, men, women, and children, accompanying us on the roads, with a desire to see guests never seen before, because one ranchería was not far from another of their own nation.[41]

The people of these two nations and of all this river are very fine looking and of good disposition, tall in stature, and well made. The custom among all the people who live along this river in regard to clothing is to wear none, but to go naked from the sole of the foot to the top of the head, the women merely covering their loins with two handfuls of grass or with twists of grass ready to hand,

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journey, but if they crossed the river it was only four. This river they kept on the north and they traveled toward the northwest. It did not seem proper to the adelantado to leave off following the river down stream, so he continued, traveling through its bottom lands, seeing always many Indians, asking all of them about the sea, which they now knew was called 'acilla,' and all answered pointing to the west, northwest, north, northeast, and east, saying that thus the sea curved, and was rather near, for they said that from the other side of the river it was only four days' journey, and that that Gulf of California is not closed, but is an arm of the sea which corresponds to the North Sea and coast of Florida. All the Indians of this river are comely and good-featured; and the women are handsome, and whiter than those of New Spain, being people of whom the men go naked and the women in skins, having the loins covered. Always when these Indians travel they carry a lighted firebrand in the hand, for which I think it should be called Tizon River. Thus declared a soldier of this journey who had gone with Sebastian Vizcaino to California; he said that he went in search of the Tizon River, and I believe that had he reached it he would not have returned, as he did, for lack of food, because there is much here." "Journey of Oñate to California by Land," in BOLTON, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, 271-273.

[40] Bandelier regarded this tribe as either a branch of the Mohave or of the Hualapais. Arch. Inst. of Am. *Papers*, III, p. 110.

[41] Zárate adds some details here, and has some variations. He describes the dwellings of the Bahacechas, and recounts an interview with chief Cohota, who welcomed the Spanish party, and whose village was passed before Otata's was reached. Some of the reports ascribed by Escobar to chief Otata are ascribed by Zárate to Cohota.

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without taking the trouble to cover any other part of the body. All wear their hair loose, and reaching only to the shoulders. This shelterless costume is possible because the country is not cold, for we did not feel cold during the whole time we were there, which was during the heart of winter. The language appeared to me easy, with no difficulties of pronunciation.

A principal Indian of this nation of Bahacecha, for he who is greatest among them is very unimportant and his occupations do not differ from those of the rest, told us, and after him many others of this river, we having shown him a coral, that they procured this substance not far from there, toward the south, and that the Indians extracted it from the sand during low tide. The Governor found some among the Indians of this river, and more in the province of Suñi when we returned, because the Indians who live toward the coral coast deal more with those of this latter province than with those of Buena Esperanza River. The corals are not fine. I do not know whether or not the reason is that this sea contains no finer, or whether those which the Indians bring are unseasonably cut by the waves, for they say that when they extract them from the sand they are already broken because the sea ejects them.

We learned also from this Indian, and from many others, by showing him some buttons of silver or iron, that, not far from here toward the west, five of their day's journeys, which are not more than five or six leagues each, this metal was to be found; and they said the same when they were shown a spoon made of silver, of which metal they declared they made large bowls in which they cooked meat, placing them on the fire, over the flames and coals. Placing in that way a plate of silver which we showed them, they declared that the bowls were like that, but larger and deeper; that they had the same sound as the plate; and that they would not break when thrown on the ground, and were not of clay like the bowls and jugs from which they eat. They gave us to understand that they dug this metal from a mountain on the other shore of the sea in front of an island[42] five days from where we were, toward which they pointed in the west, and to which they go in canoes or pirogues, whose form and shape they indicated on the ground.[43] They gave us to understand that the bowls

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[42] Zárate calls the island Ziñogaba. He does not mention the mountain in front of the island.

[43] Zárate adds: "To this island one goes by sea in canoes or boats, and since from the coast there it is only one day's sail, they set out in the morning and are there before sunset. They showed on the ground the size of the boat, drawing a line on the ground; he commenced to measure, and the boat was seventy feet long and twenty wide. On asking them if the boat carried a sail in the middle, the Indian took a stick and put it in the middle of the boat which he had drawn, with an Indian at the stern, making as if he managed the rudder. He then took a cloth and, stretching out his arms on the stick that he had set up, started to run as fast as he could, saying that thus the others ran through the water, and much faster. It is certain that if the Indians had not seen it they would not know how to draw it so perfectly. They said also that the inhabitants of that island all wear around the neck and in the ears pearl shells, which they call *xicullo*. They also told of an instrument with which they

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were hollowed by digging out the bar and not by beating it, which caused me to fear that the metal of which they make them was tin, for the method of cutting and making them, according to my opinion, argues both great abundance and softness in the metal. There was the Indian who even told me that the metals of this island were like this, or that he had seen in it some of this metal, even though not all were like it. This is a sign that there was great abundance of it, from which it is to be suspected that it is tin, although all the Indians of this nation of Bahacecha declared it to be the same as the silver plates, and to have the same sound, and that they placed the bowls on the fire to cook meat in, all of which leave me in great doubt as to whether it may be tin or silver, a doubt which will be removed only by sight of the metal, if there is any, as so many Indians declare. They called this metal *naño querroo*.[44]

We also learned from the same Indian chief who told us the foregoing, and who was called Otata, that near there, at a distance of nine or ten days' journey, there was a lake on whose banks lived people who wore on their wrists yellow manacles or bracelets, which they made us understand, from *punsones*[45] of gold and of brass which we showed them.[46] Putting them on and wearing them on the wrists or arms, they said they were the same as that metal which those Indians wore on the wrists, and afterwards two old Indians asserted the same. When shown a small bar of brass they gave us to understand that the other metal was darker and that they called it *anopacha*, which name afterwards other Indians, who were three or four and more leagues distant from these, gave to a little brass watch which I carried, without being asked any questions at the time about this matter, from which it is clearly to be inferred that there is yellow metal in this country. Indeed, there is a name common in all the nation which signifies this yellow metal, but only among the Indians of the Bahacecha and Amacava nations, for when I asked about it of the other Indians whom we saw on the same river nearer the sea, they could tell me nothing about it, either because they did not understand me or did not know it. But in Bahacecha and Amacava there were so many who said it that they almost convinced me beyond doubt that there are both yellow and white metal in the country, although it is not certain whether or not the yellow may be gold and the white silver, for of this I have very grave doubts.

Having passed this nation of Bahacecha, whose ranchería extends seven or eight leagues[47] along the river bottom, on both banks, we arrived at another large river, which, though smaller than the Buena Esperanza, reached the

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make the sound when they dance. It is a long stick from which are pendant many pieces of that metal of which they make dishes from which they eat; and, making a great noise, they dance in pairs to the sound." "Journey of Oñate to California by Land," in BOLTON, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 274.

[44] *Naño querro*. Zárate, *ibid.*, p. 273.

[45] *Punzón*, "The ring and shaft of a key worn on the flap of the coat-pocket by gentlemen of the bed-chamber to the King of Spain." VELAZQUEZ, *A New Pronouncing Dictionary of the Spanish and English Languages*. Part I, p. 526.

[46] By Zárate this incident is told of Cohota, before Otata was reached. Zárate. *op. cit.*, p. 273.

[47] An important detail omitted by Zárate.

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saddle-pads of the horses. It was called Nombre de Jhezus.[48] This river joins the Buena Esperanza from the southeast twenty leagues above the sea. Above the junction, the River Buena Esperanza makes a turn of four or five leagues from north to south, because of a mountain chain which it cuts through.

Near this river there were four or five rancherías (for because the houses of all this river are *ranchos* I call its settlements rancherías) of people of a different language, from whom I learned that a continuous settlement extended all along the River Nombre de Jesus already mentioned, and that they planted maize, frijoles, and calabashes like the Amacavas and Bahacechas, and made *mantas* of cotton, some of which I saw, which are stitched like those of the provinces of New Mexico. The people or nation of the river of Nombre de Jesus are called Osera,[49] and from words which I learned from them I suspect (though having learned only a few I do not affirm it positively) them to be Tepeguanes, for seeing in the villa of Sonbrerete[50] a religious who was a Tepeguane interpreter, I learned that the dress of the Tepeguanes was the same as those of Osera; and I saw likewise that they agreed in the two or three words which I remembered,[51] for, having found these Indians less friendly, and more importunate and more ill-favored than any of those who lived on the River of Buena Esperanza, I learned fewer words of their language than of the Amacava.

The costume of the women of this nation of Ocara was the same as that of those encountered heretofore. That of the men differed only in the hair, which these wear very long, tied with a maguey cord twisted round the head.[52] Otherwise they go naked like all the rest. Near the rancherías of these last, twenty or more horses were left, since there was good grass for grazing, in order that they might make up for the lack of it which they had suffered, and that they might be able to return to the provinces of New Mexico; but when we returned from the sea we found that the Indians had killed and eaten thirteen of them.[53] We had almost certain evidence that they and no others were the guilty ones, although they denied it in great fear, and unanimously placed the blame on others; and we were forced under the circumstances to bear the loss in patience, since they inflicted it on us at the time when no one was rude in our presence, and when it was considered unnecessary to watch the horse-herd at night, as was true from the time when we set out from the provinces of New Mexico until we returned, so great was the friendliness of the Indians.

From the river of Nombre de Jesus to the sea, which I have said is twenty leagues, the river bottom appeared wider, the mesquite groves thicker, and the people much more numerous than heretofore, but of the same nation, with now and then a different one, although in dealings and communication the differ-

[48] This stream was, of course, the Gila River.

[49] Given as *Ozaras* by Zárate, p. 275. In Kino's time, a century later, the lower Gila River was inhabited by the Cocomaricopas, farther up, by the Pimas, and near the head, by the Apaches. The Oseras were probably the Cocomaricopas, or Maricopas.

[50] A city in the state of Zacatecas.

[51] This comparison of Oseras with the Tepeguanes is omitted by Zárate.

[52] Zárate adds that they wore their hair braided.

[53] This incident is omitted by Zárate.

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ence was very slight, all having the same dress, the same friendliness, disposition, and nice courtesy as those of Amacava and Bahacecha. Like those encountered heretofore, they plant maize, calabashes, and beans, and gather much mesquite, and the river bottom is as good for Spanish crops. It appeared as fertile, but the land was also as devoid of grass and the hills and mountains as bald. It was impossible to determine whether the country had rain for the crops. We only saw many corn patches, none of them being irrigated. The river has some branches which all the year carry water, and from which, if the rain should fail, irrigating ditches might be constructed.[54]

The first settlement which we saw beyond the River Nombre de Jesus was called Alebdoma.[55] I learned from an Indian that it had eight rancherías,[56] not all of which could be seen, although all were in the bottom lands of the river. The first and largest of these eight rancherías had one hundred and sixty houses. I judged it to have two thousand souls, and the whole settlement, with its eight rancherías, as many as four or five thousand.

Following this there is another settlement called Coguana.[57] It has nine rancherías, all within a short distance. We saw some of them, and although we did not see them all we saw many people from all of them, who came to visit us. This settlement had another five thousand souls.

Near this is another settlement called Agalle. It had five rancherías,[58] and near it there was another called Agalecquamaya,[59] with six rancherías. These two settlements contained another four or five thousand souls.

Two leagues beyond this we saw another settlement called Cocapa. It extends to the sea, or to the place reached by the salt water, which enters the river from the sea some four or five leagues. This settlement has nine rancherías, and appeared to me the largest of all. We saw only two of the rancherías, one of which must have had a full thousand souls and the other less than five hundred.

It appeared to me that the entire population of the Cocapa would reach five or six thousand souls, because while we were there so many Indians assembled to see us that all judged them to exceed three thousand souls, whereas it seemed to me that there were no more than sixty women among them and very few

[54] This paragraph is omitted by Zárate.

[55] Halchedoma in Zárate's account, p. 276. The tribes from the Gila to the Gulf were of Yuman stock.

[56] In this passage Zárate uses the word pueblo where Escobar says ranchería. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

[57] *Cohuana* in Zárate's account. They were the Cuchan, or Yuma proper. *Ibid.*, p. 276. Zárate adds: "A great many of these went along with the Spaniards. There must have been more than six hundred men and women. They camped for the night with the Spaniards." *Ibid.*, p. 276.

[58] Zárate says *Haglli*, and that it had "one hundred pueblos." This number must be a mistake due to some corruption of the document. *Ibid.*, p. 276. Regarded as part of the Halliguamayas (Hodge, *Handbook*, I, p. 520.)

[59] *Talliquamallas* with six pueblos, according to Zárate. *Ibid.*, p. 276. These people are regarded as the Quigyumas. (Hodge, *Handbook*, II, p. 340). The Cocapa, mentioned below, are still so-called.

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children, while from the rancherías farther back there were only seven Indians who had come with us as guides, for being two or three leagues from those farther back, and through fear of hostile Indians, as were all those of the other side of the river, who in that uninhabited forest might come out to kill them, those of the rancherías behind did not dare to go forward with us as hitherto had been the case, for there had been days when more than three hundred persons went with us along the roads.[60]

It seemed to me that the settlements and rancherías of people whom we saw on the river Buena Esperanza would number more than thirty[61] thousand souls, not counting those of the other bank of the river, who were hostile. Because they were hostile they did not cross over to see us. We heard that there were many people on the Río de Ocera and the Indians of this river told us of eighteen or twenty rancherías, all called by their names.[62] These are the ones who live toward the coral coast and who profit by the corals.

After having passed all these nations and all these settlements or rancherías, by whom we were welcomed with great friendliness and joy, being given in all of them maize, frijoles and calabashes (not great in amount nor in proportion to the great multitude of the people nor to our needs until we returned to the province of Moqui, for it was necessary to eat seven or eight horses before we arrived there on our way back),[63] on the day of the Conversion of the Glorious Apostle St. Paul, we arrived with great joy at the sea or Gulf of California, where we saw, according to the declaration of seamen, the finest bay, or port (for it is called by both names) which any of them ever had seen.[64] We called it the Port of the Conversion, since it was discovered on that day. It is formed by the Buena Esperanza River, where it enters the sea, with a mouth three or four leagues wide, according to the statements of the seamen who with me saw it. The mouth of the river is divided into two by a small isle which is in the middle, and is a league and a half or two leagues long. It runs from southeast to northwest, and provides a fine shelter for the bay, leaving each mouth a league and a half or two leagues wide. The island seemed to be of clay, which is the case with all the beach or coast of the bay. In it there are neither pebbles nor sand, nor reef, nor any sign of them. The bay appeared to be of good depth, even close to the shore. The Buena Esperanza River enters the sea from west to east, by the skirt of a mountain chain which runs toward the sea almost from north to south, or from north-north-west to south-southeast. A spur of the mountain chain enters the bay about six leagues farther inland. It ends in three points, low and round, the last higher than the other two. Beyond these, toward the land side, there is a

[60] Most of this paragraph is omitted by Zárate.

[61] Zárate says twenty thousand. *Op. cit.*, p. 277.

[62] By Zárate this item is transferred to the account of the Ocera tribe, above. *Ibid.*, p. 275.

[63] Omited by Zárate.

[64] According to Zárate only Oñate, the two friars, and nine soldiers descended to the sea at first, having left the rest in camp at the head of salt water. Later the rest descended. Zárate adds here: "So large is this port that more than a thousand vessels can anchor in it without hindrance to one another." *Ibid.*, pp. 277-278.

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more elevated point, after which the mountain chain forms a spur which runs more than twenty leagues north-northwest, south-southeast, from which separately one may judge how the mountain chain enters the sea. On this coast the sea runs east and west, and makes a turn behind this mountain chain toward the north and northwest according to the assertions of the Indians, none of whom knows its terminus.[65]

Among the Indians of this coast there were found many white shells, and others green, of various shades, from which some of the Indians to whom we put questions said that they were accustomed to obtain large pearls, but we were unable to find any of them among the Indians, although the Governor made great efforts to do so.[66]

When we returned from the sea and had reached the Vacecha nation, where the Indian chief, called Otata, had told us of the islet containing the silver or tin which they told us were there, and of the yellow metal of which the Indians of the Laguna made bracelets, he and many others reaffirmed the same things which

[65] While Zárate's description of the harbor is taken from Escobar, the language is quite different, and in some places it helps us to understand this passage. *Ibid.*, p. 277. Zárate adds interesting items regarding the ceremony of taking possession, and gives other data regarding the stay at the Gulf, as follows:

"The adelantado, Don Juan de Oñate, took possession of this port in the name of his Majesty, and gave possession in his Majesty's name to the Father Commissary, Fray Francisco de Escobar, in order that our sacred religion may settle and people the land and the others next to it and round about, and that we may occupy ourselves in the conversion of the natives in the place and places most suited to our mode of life.

"We took this possession on the 25th of the month of January, day of the conversion of the Apostle St. Paul, patron of those provinces and of the Custodia of New Mexico, in the year of our Lord, 1605, for the glory and honor of God our Lord.

"This done, the adelantado and those who had gone with him returned to the camp, in order that the rest of the soldiers might go and certify to the sea. They did so, the space of four days being spent therein. Some soldiers stated that they had seen tunny-fish, and that they knew them because they were men from Spain. Having seen this, they came back by the same way they had gone, being as well received by the Indians and with the same hospitality as when going." "Journey of Oñate to California by Land," in BOLTON, *Spanish Exploration in the Southwest*, p. 278.

[66] This paragraph is omitted by Zárate, but he adds a paragraph regarding the return visit to the Oceras which Escobar omits entirely. It is as follows: "Having arrived among the Ozaras Indians, as they had already inquired of the other nations, and all had said that this nation is very extensive and runs along the coast, and that these are the ones who get from the sea the coral which they call *quacame*, they made inquiry and found a few. They said that since they were a long distance from the coast they did not have many; but further up the Buena Esperanza River, among Indians of this same nation, a few more were found, and in the province of Zuñi still more were found and bartered for. They said the Indians of the valleys of Señora [Sonora] brought them there to sell; and that they are no more than seven days' journey from there, and that they get them out of the sea, and are not far from there; and that this nation extends to that place. This sea they pointed out toward the south and southwest. Father Fray Francisco de Escobar found that from the

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they formerly had told us, without any contradictions,[67] although it had been more than forty days since they had first told us, there being added the testimony of many other Indians, who affirmed it anew, some of whom were nearer the island and who had come to see us. They are seen to be of different language and costume, are friends of the Vahacecha, and know their language.

This Indian Otata also told us of all the people who live on the Buena Esperanza River, clear up to its source, showing this to be close to the sea, toward the northwest, as did many others likewise, all asserting that the Gulf of California makes this complete turn. He told us also of the people who live between the Buena Esperanza River and the sea, making a drawing of the country on a piece of paper, on which he indicated many nations of people so monstrous that I will make bold to affirm them with no little fear of being discredited through not having seen them, which I was unable to do, on account of the lack of men and horses, and particularly of supplies, which the Governor experienced, and on account of the little or no grass which the country promised, so that for horses so weak and worn out as were most of those which we had, the enterprise appeared almost impossible, and that to hope to achieve it with such lack of means appeared no little temerity; and although to some it must appear temerity for me to recount things so monstrous and never seen in our times (nor even in the past if it is remembered that they have been seen always by witnesses so far away that the door is always left open for each one to believe what he pleases), nevertheless, I make bold to relate what I have heard stated to a great multitude

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province of New Mexico to the sea, on the road alone, there were ten different languages. This priest was so able and had so fine a memory that wherever he went he promptly learned the tongue, and so on the return journey he talked with all the nations and they all understood him." *Ibid.*, *p.* 278-279.

[67] Zárate adds intimate data here. "On examining them again, they made the same statement as on the journey going, without varying it in any respect. They went through the same performance with the plate of silver as on the outward journey, as has been said; only they added that this silver was taken out of the top of a hill which was on the further side of the island behind which the sun hides when it sets; and they said that they cut it out with a hard instrument. Being asked if it was of the same they said no, and gave to understand that it was something dark-yellow; and being shown a small sheet of brass, they said it was not of that material. Seeing that they were not understood, one of them rose and went to the adelantado's kitchen and took hold of a copper kettle and said that the instrument with which was cut the metal of which they made their bowls and pots was like that.

"The Spaniards set out from here, and Chief Otata came forth to the road to receive them, with a great following and a tumult of ceremonies, as is their custom, flinging their bows and arrows to earth. He gave the Governor a string of white beads which he wore on his neck, and the Father Commissary another, which among them is a great gift. These he had sent to the island of Ziñogova to purchase with some cotton *mantas*, which on going the Governor had given him for that purpose. It is plainly to be seen that the island is near, since he had gone and returned in so short a time. They again examined them about everything and in nothing did they contradict themselves." *Ibid.*, p. 279-280.

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of Indians in my presence, for since I affirm as true only what I saw with my eyes, I may dare affirm it.[68]

The Indian Otata told us in the presence of many others, who corroborated his story, of a nation of people who had ears so large that they dragged on the ground, and big enough to shelter five or six persons under each one. This nation was called in its own language Esmalcatatanaaha, and in the language of this Bahacecha nation Esmalca, which means "ear," the etymology of the word indicating the characteristic of the nation.

Not far from this nation, he said, there was another whose men had virile members so long, they wrapped them four times around the waist, and that in the act of generation the man and woman were far apart. This Nation was called Medará Qualchoquata.

Likewise, we learned from this Indian and the others that near the foregoing people there was another nation with only one foot, who were called Niequetata people.

They told us of another nation, not far from the last, who lived on the banks of a lake in which they slept every night, entirely under the water. These people, they said, were the ones who wore handcuffs and bracelets of yellow metal, which they called *anpacha*.[69] This nation was called Zinoes, which with more propriety we might call Hamaca Coemacha Fish. We learned from all these Indians that near this last nation there is another which always sleeps in trees. The reason we could not ascertain, whether it was for fear of wild beasts or insects, or from some natural characteristic or custom of theirs. This nation they called Ahalcos Macha.

The monstrosities of another nation, which they said was near this one, did not stop here, for they sustained themselves solely on the odor of their food, prepared for this purpose, not eating it at all, since they lacked the natural means to eliminate the excrements of the body. This nation they called Xamoco Huicha.

They told of another nation not far from this one which did not lie down to sleep but always slept standing up, bearing some burden on the head. This nation they called Tascaña Paycos Macha.

Here we learned from all these Indians what we had learned many days before from many others, great and small, that the principal person obeyed by

[68] Zárate, who wrote after two decades had passed, balks at the tales told by Otata and repeated by Escobar. He closes with the following paragraph: "They told of many prodigies of nature which God had created between Buena Esperanza River and the sea, and which have caused incredulity in the hearers. When we see them we will affirm them under oath; but in the meantime I refrain from mentioning them, and pass them by in silence. And to put an end to this journey, I will say that after having endured much hardship and hunger (even coming to eat their horses) which, lest I be too long, I do not recount, they reached the villa of San Gabriel on their return, all sound and well, and not a man missing, on the 25th of April of the year 1605. There they rested, and were as well received as they had been anxiously awaited." *Ibid.*, p. 280.

[69] These are the people who, according to Zárate, lived on the Lake of Copalla.

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the people who lived on the island was a woman called Ciñaca Cohota,[70] which signifies or means "principal woman" or "chieftainess." From all these Indians we learned that she was a giantess, and that on the island she had only a sister and no other person of her race, which must have died out with them. We learned that the men of this island were bald, and that with them the monstrosities ended.

It appears to me doubtful that there should be so many monstrosities in so short a distance, and so near us, for the Indians asserted that they were all on one river, which it was necessary to cross in order to go to the island, which was only five days' journey away (this would be twenty-five or thirty leagues). But, even though there might be still greater doubt of all these things, it seemed yet more doubtful to remain silent about things which, if discovered, would result, I believe, in glory to God and in service to the King our Lord; for although the things in themselves may be so rare and may never before have been seen, to any one who will consider the wonders which God constantly performs in the world, it will be easy to believe that since He is able to create them He may have done so, and that since so many and different people, in a distance of two hundred leagues testify to them, they cannot lack foundation, being things of which these Indians are not the first inventors, for there are many books which treat of them, and of others even more monstrous and more wonderful.

And if they do cause wonderment, it does not seem to me that the way to their verification or to that of the other reports, of riches and of the communication of the seas, is very difficult. If perchance they do communicate, by the favor of heaven, with less than one hundred men it will be possible to verify the truth of all these things, both of the silver and the tin, or whatever metal it is on the island; of the gold, copper, or brass bracelets or handcuffs worn by the Indians of the Laguna; of the coral; of the pearls which the Indians declare are contained in the shells which we found, and which the Governor and so many Spaniards declare there are in the Gulf of California; and of the turn which the Indians say the Gulf makes toward the north and northeast, not a person being found who knew its terminus; as well as of the monstrosities reported by so many Indians of ten different nations, scattered through more than two hundred leagues, some saying that they had seen them and others that they had heard of them.

We learned likewise from the Indian Otata and many others that on the River of Buena Esperanza, toward its source, there were many buffalo, and very large deer, who wander amongst them[71] And they said that from a point six days from the source to the mouth, which is where it enters the sea or the Port of the Conversion, it was thirty days, the entire distance being settled by people who plant maize like the Amacava. This being the case, as the Indians testify, wherever the buffalo lives there can be no lack of grass, and the country must be colder. And thus it seems to me, saving a better judgment, that the exploration could be better made by land and by sea from the source of the River Buena Esperanza, for since the Indians say there are so many buffalo, there must be

[70] In Zárate's account as printed the name becomes Ciñacacohola. *Ibid.*, p. 276.

[71] For Zárate's mention of this see note 68.

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grass for us and for the horses and even for farms. The Indians gave us to understand, also, that the maize was better and grew higher, and that the calabashes were better. And there would be the same convenience for making the exploration by water, for the Indians declare that the river rises near the sea, although there is no more reason to believe them in this than in other matters of which they told us. And it might be more convenient to build there some barks or some sort of bergantine, for in the Port of the Conversion there is no timber, unless it is brought from the pineries which are on Río de San Joseph, and whence I think it can be carried by its current clear to the sea, although I do not affirm it, as I have not seen what obstacles there may be.

After we had passed from the River Buena Esperanza into the country of the Cruzados, when we asked about all the nations of monstrous people, some of the few whom we saw there when we returned told us of them and in the province of Moqui three Indians of this same Cruzado nation who were there, gave us the same report, saying that they had heard it from people of their own nation who had come from the sea. Another Indian of another nation, called Tacabuy, who lived on the Rio de San Joseph, gave the same report, declaring, when he was questioned, that he already knew it. Some Indians of the provinces of Moqui and Çuñi and many of these provinces of New Mexico, when we returned and questioned them through the interpreter, declared that they had already heard, before the Spaniards came to their country, of some of the monstrous nations. And two chiefs of the Theguas nation also declared that they had heard of them, and had seen in these provinces of New Mexico savage Indians all covered over with hair, on body, arms, and legs, who had come from the west, with many shells like those which we had brought from there. When we were at the Río Buena Esperanza some of the soldiers told me they had heard from the Indians that there were some of these savages between the Buena Esperanza River and the sea, but because I was not able properly to verify the story, and because the Indian chief Otata said nothing about them, I paid no attention to the report.

This is the outcome of our expedition, and what during it we saw and heard of the Río de Buena Esperanza, and of the sea coast. May it please the Majesty of our sovereign God that such sufferings as were endured on our journey from hunger, cold, snow, and a thousand other inconveniences, borne for His divine love and through zeal for the conversion of souls, may not be lost, but that they may have been to some purpose, in order that His divine Majesty may be served, and His holy Faith extended, and that so many people who are blind and ignorant of the road to Heaven, and of their salvation, may know it, and that the royal crown of the King our Lord may be amplified and augmented.

When we returned from the journey, in the province of Moqui, which is seventy leagues distant from the site now occupied by the Spaniards, the Governor found among the Indians some stones which appeared to be minerals. Looked at in different ways they presented different colors. Their colors commonly are two, red like garnet and green like emerald, but the natural color appeared rather to be red, some being better than others. The stones of themselves, it is well known, being small, are of no value, and appear to be little esteemed, but because the mines or mine whence they are obtained might be of

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value, they were brought here in order to see if some lapidary might know them. The Governor, not knowing what they might be, made no effort to discover them, although in one of the pueblos where the Spaniards now live there is a mine which seems to be the same stones. Likewise, some pebbles, or small stones, were found, three of the largest of which were the size of chick-peas, and more sparkling and of brighter color than garnet. They appear to be from the same mine where the said stones are, although this could not be verified, because the Indians would not admit it nor disclose the mine.[72]

FRAY FRANCISCO DE ESCOBAR,
Commissary.

In the City of Mexico on the 25th day of the month of October, 1605, before His Excellency, the Marqués de Montesclaros, Viceroy of this New Spain, appeared Father Fray Francisco de Escobar, and declared that this memorial and relation, which was shown to him, was presented to His Excellency, and that the signature in it, where it says "Fray Francisco de Escobar, Commissary," is his, and that he made it, and recognizes it. Likewise, he swore *in verbo sacerdotis*, placing his hand on his breast, that what he has said in this memorial is the truth, and what took place on the expedition, and what he thinks about it. And he signed it with his name, in the presence of the secretary, Pedro Diaz de Villegas, and Martin de Santiyusti, being in this city. The Marqués de Montesclaros. Fray Francisco de Escobar. Before me, Martin Lopez de Gauna.

And immediately, on the said 25th day of October, 1605, His Excellency ordered to appear before him four men, who said their names were Captain Francisco Rascon, Captain Juan Belarde Colodro, Alférez Pedro Sanches Monrroy, and Sergeant Francisco Bido. And at the command of His Excellency, I, the present notary of government, was ordered to receive the oaths of the before-named men, and that they be shown this memorial and relation of Father Fray Francisco de Escobar, Commissary. And they, having sworn before God and Holy Mary, and with the sign of the cross, which they made in due legal form, and having promised to tell the truth, and being shown the said memorial and relation, of the said Father Fray Francisco de Escobar and the signature upon it, and having read it through paragraph by paragraph they declared that its entire contents were true, and that they knew this because they were in the places and parts named, in company with Don Juan Oñate, Governor of New Mexico, and the said Father Commissary, and that this is the truth, under charge of the oath which they have taken and signed. And they signed it with their names, except Pedro Sanches Monrroi, who said that he did not know how to write. The Marqués de Montesclaros. Francisco Rrascon. Juan Velarde. Francisco Bido. Before me, Martin Lopez de Gauna.

And immediately they were asked by his Excellency how many people they had left in the camp of the Spaniards, and each one separately replied that there must have remained about fifty or fifty-three persons of all ages. They were asked about how many Indians had been baptized, and they said that since the camp had been established in the villa which they called San Gabriel, more than nine years ago,[73] there had been baptized from five to six hundred persons, big and little, but that of these they do not know how many are still living, except that they understand that

[72] This paragraph is omitted by Zárate.

[73] Oñte entered New Mexico in 1598, or only seven years before the date of this declaration.

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some of them have died, and that the failure to be baptized is not due to the Indians, but to the fact that the religious refrain from baptizing them through not knowing the language.

On being asked if, when they reached, at the mouth of the river, the sea which they saw toward the south, they sounded the mouth of the river in order to ascertain its depth, they replied that they did not sound it, since they had no instruments for this purpose, and knew only that the mouth appeared to be soundable, and that a soldier named Juan Rruiz dived into the water and said that it was of good depth.

Being asked if there was anyone who ascended any high point or peak to look toward the sea to find out if they could see the land in any other direction than that of the coast where they were, they said that this attempt was not made because the country was level.

Being asked if the shells and stones which had been shown them were the same as those of the journey, they replied in the affirmative, and that as such they recognized them; and likewise that the Indians of that province gave them some pieces of metal which they brought, being the ones shown them. All of which they declared, under the oath which they had taken, to be the truth, and they signed with their names. The Marqués de Montesclaros. Francisco Rrascon. Juan Belarde. Francisco Bido. Before me, Martin Lopez de Gauna.

This transcript I have had made at the command of His Excellency the said Viceroy Marqués de Montesclaros, of the City of Mexico, on the 27th day of the month of October, 1605, and it is correct, being witnessed by Alonso Pardo and Melchor de Maturana, citizens and residents of Mexico.

And at the end I made my sign, in testimony of the truth.

Martin de Gauna. (*Rubric*)

Corrected. (*Rubric*)

Translated and edited by
HERBERT EUGENE BOLTON,
University of California,
Berkeley, Cal.

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BISHOP McQUAID OF ROCHESTER

HIS PASTORAL WORK IN NEW JERSEY (1848-1868)

The past year of 1918 was memorable in the annals of Rochester. It marked a triple anniversary commemorating events of the utmost significance in the history of local Catholicism. As early as June 30, 1818, the *Ontario Messenger* of Canandaigua, New York, gave notice that "the Rev. Dr. O'Gorman, a Roman Catholic Priest, and Rector of St. Mary's Church, Albany, will preach at the Court House in this village, this day, at *six o'clock* in the afternoon and at the village of Williamsburg, in the town of Groveland, on Sunday, the 5th day of July next, at 11 o'clock in the forenoon." There is reason to believe that the zealous missionary also made his way to Rochester, which was within easy reach both from Canandaigua and Williamsburg. At all events John McGuire of Rochester found a place on the board of trustees, organized under the direction of the Rev. Dr. O'Gorman at the beginning of the next year for the parish church of all central and western New York at Utica, to which there was also elected Charles Carroll of the Genesee River, the Catholic founder of Rochester, who resided at Williamsburg.[1] Consequently, the year 1918 is justly regarded the centenary of the first Mass in Rochester. Fifty years later the newly created Diocese of Rochester received its first Bishop, the Right Rev. Bernard J. McQuaid, who at first "was determined not to accept, and had in this the encouragement of his own Bishop, but" March 13, 1868, Archbishop McCloskey was able to write Archbishop Spalding, "he has finally yielded to considerations such as have been pressed on the Bishop-elect of Buffalo."[2] He was consecrated in the Cathedral of New York, July 12, 1868, and took possession of his See four days later. The year 1918, therefore, is also the golden jubilee of the Diocese of Rochester. The most the new Bishop could do the first years of his episcopate for ecclesiastical education was the establishment of a Preparatory

[1] Copy of certificate of incorporation, January 26, 1819: *Religious Associations*, p. 37. Utica Courthouse.

[2] Letters to Archbishop Spalding, File No. 35: Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

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Seminary at his return from the Vatican Council and to persevere in planning and saving for the realization of what he himself regarded as the crowning work of his life, his theological seminary. Twenty-five years after his arrival, he was able to open St. Bernard's Seminary to its first students with strong hopes for its development "into a model seminary, glorious in its fulness, its thoroughness, its endowments, its adaptability to its end, encompassed by priests whose early days were spent within its walls, and where they learned that consecration of the soul to God for the neighbor's saving was the noblest end."[3] Teaching was begun in September, 1893, and so the year 1918 is finally also the silver jubilee of the St. Bernard Ecclesiastical Seminary.

I

The early years of Bishop McQuaid's life were anything but promising of such success. Misfortune visited his family in his childhood in overflowing measure. The Record of Burials in St. Patrick's Cemetery, New York City, June 15, 1827, has the name of Mary McQuade, years 33, place of nativity Ireland, and place of death Paulus Hook. The same book, March 27, 1829, records the burial of an infant, Patrick McQuade, three months old, with New Jersey assigned as the place of its nativity and death. If this is the child of Bernard McQuaid, the Bishop's father, as seems to be the case, the widower married again, giving a stepmother to his family. Three years later the *Bergen County Courier*, May 9, 1832, informed its readers that "an inquest was held last Wednesday, May 2, before Stephen H. Lutkins, Esquire, in this city, on the body of Barney McQuade. Verdict of the Jury 'that the deceased came to his death by blows inflicted on him by John McCosker.' Both these men were employed at the Jersey Glass Factory. McCosker has fled." As it might be expected, the Record of Burials in the Eleventh Street Cemetery, New York City, May 3, 1832, has the name of Bernard McQuade, years 32, place of nativity Ireland, place of death New Jersey.[4] Life with his stepmother was such that Bishop McQuaid, even

[3] BISHOP MCQUAID, *Pastoral on Seminary Collection*, August 20, 1894.

[4] Burial Records in Cemetery Office, 24 E. 52nd St., New York City.

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to the day of his own death, could not shake off the bitter memories of the woman who abused him terribly in his childhood. All this misery came to an end when he was brought to the Prince Street Orphan Asylum, New York City, where he found a home with the Sisters of Charity. A terse entry on the books of the Institution has the following record of his life there: "Bernard McQuaid, aged 7 years, entered the R. C. O. A., Aug. 20, 1832, and was discharged June 4th, 1839, aged 14 years. He was sent to Chambly College, Canada."[5] In the Orphan Asylum he found "a prudent and wise guide" in Mother Elizabeth Boyle, and as late as February 14, 1907, he gratefully called to mind "the blessing of coming under her gentle and even piety and saintly example."[6] After Bishop McQuaid finished his preparatory studies in Chambly College, he entered St. Joseph's Seminary, Fordham, which was then in its infancy. When he had completed his studies there, he was ordained by Bishop Hughes on the feast of the Holy Name, January 16, 1848.

Looking over the past towards the end of his life, Bishop McQuaid wrote: "I wonder at my length of days, for in my first days of priestly work I was a frail and delicate man, apparently destined to a short career."[7] Nevertheless, Bishop McQuaid was unsparing of himself from the very first years of his missionary life as pastor of Madison in New Jersey, of which he was in charge from 1848 to 1853. His *Register of Baptisms*, even in the first months of his priestly life, gives evidence of his ministration to Catholics living in Union, Essex, Morris, Warren, and Sussex counties;[8] there are only three more counties in the present Diocese of Newark. As Bishop McQuaid declared in his sermon at the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, it was, "while journeying through this district, hunting up stray sheep of the fold," that "the experience was acquired that without schools our children, and especially those of mixed marriages, would be lost."[9] However, his observant mind had noted this crying need even before his advent in New Jersey.

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[5] Office Archives, 462 Madison Ave., New York City.
[6] Bishop McQuaid to Mother Xavier: St. Elizabeth College Letters.
[7] *Ibid.*
[8] First Baptismal Record in the Rectory of St. Vincent's Church, Madison, N. J.
[9] *Memorial Volume of III Plenary Council of Baltimore*, p. 175.

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> I used to look at those boys in New York, everywhere crowding our streets, but not crowding our churches, and many a time I had occasion to say to myself: If God had not been kinder to me than to these, might I not be much worse? God in his mercy had given me the opportunity of a Christian education. Could I not, then, in common gratitude, try to gain children entrusted to my care; could I not try to teach them to know this same God by a Christian education?"[10]

He did make the attempt at the first opportunity, so that Bishop McQuaid later could write to Dean Flynn:

> You can claim that in Morristown you have the second oldest Catholic school in the State of New Jersey uninterruptedly kept up. Madison has the first. I established both in a very humble way, it is true; but they helped to establish the principle that Catholic schools were as necessary as churches.[11]

About a month after Bishop McQuaid opened his Morristown parochial school, Bishop Hughes, whom ten years before the anti-Catholic teaching and influence of the public school system moved to fruitless efforts to secure an equitable share of the public school funds for Catholic schools, issued a pastoral with the significant statement:

> I think the time has almost come when it will be necessary to build the school-house first, and the church afterward. Our fellow-citizens have adopted a system of education . . . from which they have attempted to divorce religion under the plea of excluding sectarianism from elements of education and literature. For myself, I may be allowed to say that I do not regard it as suited to a Christian land, whether Catholic or Protestant, however admirably it might be adapted to the social condition of an enlightened pagan.[12]

A larger field of operation opened up to Bishop McQuaid with the creation of the bishopric of Newark. One of the first official acts its Bishop had to enter on his diocesan register is dated October 18, 1853: "Revd. Michael Madden appointed to Madison in place of Rev. B. J. McQuaid, who comes to Newark as Pastor of the Cathedral."[13] Archbishop Corrigan in the *Register of Clergy, Diocese of Newark*, has briefly described the activities of the newly appointed Rector in the See of Newark until his removal as Bishop to Rochester in 1868:

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[10] Sermon: *Blessing of the corner-stone of Morristown school*, Church of the Assumption, November 25, 1886. FLYNN, *Story of a Parish*, p. 187.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 152.

[12] HASSARD, *Life of Archbishop Hughes*, p. 388.

[13] *o. c.*, p. 1: Newark Diocesan Archives, Seton Hall College.

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> Pastor of the Cathedral, and right arm of the Bishop for many years. Built and rebuilt Seton Hall College. Introduced Sisters of Charity, and was foremost in promoting all diocesan works. Vicar-General after F. Moran's death.[14]

Bishop Bayley had also come to consider the parochial school house "second in importance only to the House of God itself."[15] Moreover, he regarded a diocesan college "of the highest importance for the upholding and furthering of our holy religion." The college which he had in mind was intended not only for the Christian education of the lay youth, but also for the training "of young men of the diocese who gave signs of a vocation to the priesthood."[16] Seton Hall College was finally opened on the Chegaray farm near Madison September 1, 1857, with the Rev. Bernard J. McQuaid as President, to which office the Rev. Daniel Fisher was appointed the second year. However, July 16, 1859, Bishop Bayley had to make the following entry on the Register of the Diocese:

> Have been obliged to reappoint the Rev. Father McQuaid to the Presidency of the College, he still retaining the Pastorship of the Cathedral. It is more difficult to find a good College President than to find a good anything else in this world. All the College needs to ensure its permanent prosperity is a President. Everything else is there.[17]

The next spring the Marble House near South Orange was bought, and became the Seminary, as a separate college building was erected there for the opening of school work at the new site in September, 1860.

The *Annual Catalogues* of Seton Hall College attest the steady growth of the institution, and especially reveal the organizing hand of a strong man conscious of the purpose of his work in the education of Catholic youth. He never became guilty, even in the humble beginnings of his College, of advertising for the education of Protestant children, and yet the College developed so rapidly despite war-time conditions that its President had to advise parents in the *Catalogue of* 1862-63 to "make an early

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[14] *o. c.*, p. 7; *ibid.*

[15] BAYLEY, *Hist. Cath. Ch. in New York*, p. 162.

[16] Bp. Bayley to Propagation of Faith, France, February, 1856; FLYNN, *Catholic Church in N. J.*, p. 280; August 1855; *ibid.*, p. 277.

[17] *o. c.*, p. 74.

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application, as many applicants are refused admission at the opening session in August." Seton Hall College became so popular with its patrons that there was no decrease in the attendance, but a steady increase, even when the tuition was raised, according to the *Catalogue of* 1863-4, to $300, and two years later to $500. However, it must not be imagined that the institution was not severely tried in the early years of its existence. The *Catalogue of* 1863-4 had to report "the burning of the gymnasium and the apparatus belonging to it."[18] A few years later a much more disastrous fire threatened its destruction, but it only served to prove the invincible tenacity of purpose and the unfailing resourcefulness of its President in adversity. His circular to the patrons and friends of Seton Hall College gives ample evidence of this.

> The ruins of the burnt building are being removed. Arrangements for rebuilding the new College are going on.
>
> I would be the most fainthearted of men, if I were to hesitate one moment in going on with my work. The general cry is, "Give us something larger, grander, more suitable for college purposes." It is my intention with God's blessing and your kind help to do so.
>
> A little plain talk with regard to my financial means will not be out of place.
>
> The new building will cost $50,000. My insurances amount to $19,000; there are $4,000 worth of materials on hand; Bishop Bayley will order a general collection in all the churches of the Diocese which will amount to $10,000. The balance I must find elsewhere. I can look only to those parents who appreciate the work SETON HALL is doing for their children; to the personal friends of Bishop Bayley, who will deeply sympathize with him in the heavy and unexpected burden that has been placed upon him by this calamity; and to those friends that I may have found in my labors in behalf of education, and who have felt kindly towards me for all I have tried to do for the welfare of their children.
>
> I, therefore, look anxiously and earnestly for the assistance that the well-wishers of SETON HALL may be able to render in this trying moment. Whatever they may be able to give or obtain from their friends, be it much, be it little, will be most thankfully received.
>
> I need not add that all our benefactors will be earnestly remembered in the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass.
>
> B. J. McQUAID.[19]
>
> Seton Hall, Feb. 2, 1866.

[18] *o. c.*, p. 27.

[19] Seton Hall College Catalogue, 1865-6, p. 23, *sq.*

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The *Catalogue* of the very next Academic Year announced that "since last Commencement Day the work upon the New Building has been carried on steadily until it has almost approached completion. The little that remains unfinished can await a replenished treasury."[20] The character possessed by such a man could not fail to impress those who came into contact with him. Thus the Rev. William McCloskey, later Bishop of Louisville, wrote of the President of Seton Hall College to Dr. Corrigan, the future Bishop of Newark and Archbishop of New York, then in charge of the Seminary department attached to the College:

> From what I saw on my late visit & from the little conversation I had with him, I must say that I have the highest appreciation of his energy and zeal. He is doing a greater work than I think even he is conscious of, but the full fruit is to be reaped hereafter. Be not discouraged then at the hard work that comes up before you & in shapes that you did not anticipate. With such a man one must not stand on trifles. So cooperate with him warmly, generously, & enter into his every wish for the temporal prosperity of the College while you do all in your power to advance the Spiritual or rather ecclesiastical interests.
>
> Bear in mind his many good qualities and forget your own trials for his zeal, which, if it sometimes run over & flood his neighbor's fields, is always well meant.[21]

Old Seton Hall College near Madison was sold to the Sisters of Charity of St. Elizabeth, and was the beginning of St. Elizabeth's Mother House, Academy, and College at Convent Station. The foundation of this Community to take charge of parochial schools, orphanages, etc., in the Diocese of Newark was even more important than the creation of Seton Hall College. "My whole soul," Bishop McQuaid wrote Mother Xavier later, "was wrapped up in the future success of the Diocese of Newark, and the strongest conviction I had was that there never could be success without a sisterhood for the diocese, and independent of all outside superiors."[22] The great difficulty was to get Sisters with whom to begin the Community. Mother Margaret of the Cincinnati Sisters of Charity, an early companion of Mother Elizabeth Bayley Seton who was the foundress of the American Daughters of Charity and

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[20] M. A. C. Private Correspondence, 1863-1879, September 7, 1865. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie Seminary.

[21] *Ibid.*, January 30, 1867.

[22] February 20, 1907: St. Elizabeth College Letters.

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aunt to Bishop Bayley, wrote the latter August 4, 1858, "to send three or four good subjects who might be trained" at Cincinnati "and come back next Spring,—when" the Community there "could probably lend" Newark "one or two good Sisters, for a year at any rate, to enable them to get fairly under way."[23] The advice bore good fruit, and Bishop Bayley's *Register of Newark Diocese* duly notes, November 29, 1858:

> The Rev. Father McQuaid started this morning with five young women for Cincinnati, where they are to enter the Noviciate of the Sisters of Charity, then to return to us next summer with some of the Sisters to commence our new House of Sisters of Charity of St. Elizabeth . . . I purchased Col. Ward's old Mansion last week to serve as a Mother House.[24]

However, when the time came, the Sisters of Cincinnati found it impossible to send any Sisters to New Jersey. Nothing could be done but to appeal to Archbishop Hughes to employ his powerful influence with the Mount St. Vincent Sisters of Charity in behalf of the new Community, which they had refused to help before. Sister M. Jerome of St. Vincent's Hospital, New York City, explained to the Cincinnati Sisters the change of attitude on the part of the New York Sisters of Charity in a letter, October 13, 1859:

> As you had been so generous, we had to do something, and have consented to give him two Sisters, but all the merit must be yours for the foundation of this new house, as I do not think our people would have consented, only that those good girls were with you and are ready to commence.[25]

Sister M. Xavier was appointed Superioress of the new Community with Sister Catherine as assistant. The new Sisterhood naturally looked to Father McQuaid, the zealous pastor of the Cathedral, for guidance and direction, especially as Mother Xavier and Father McQuaid were the spiritual children of the same saintly Mother in religion. On the occasion of the diamond jubilee of Mother Xavier, Bishop McQuaid wrote to her, February 20, 1907:

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[23] Bishop Bayley to Mother Margaret, August 23, 1858; Mt. St. Joseph Mother House Letters, Hamilton County, Ohio.

[24] *o. c.*, p. 67.

[25] Mt. St. Joseph Mother House Letters.

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> Sixty years ago . . . I was preparing for ordination and you were in your noviciate. It was Mother Elizabeth who received you into the community and under her you received your first lesson in religion. To her I owed my vocation, and without her help I could never have found my way to the priesthood. Then so early in our religious life we came together, as I might say, fellow-workers in Christ's service . . . I was fully conscious of my inability to train up a religious community. There was only one course to follow, and that was to do the best I could and leave the rest to God. Under His care, blessings and prosperity came to the brave Sisters. My instructions came from a full soul, based on the little experience I had acquired in the Seminary and my early years in the priesthood. Certainly, that beginning in the old Col. Ward property was small and humble, and it needed warm words of encouragement to keep up the courage of the young aspirants.[26]

It has become almost a matter of custom to give the credit of founding Seton Hall and St. Elizabeth's to Bishop Bayley. There is every reason, however, to believe that success would not have crowned his efforts, if it had not been for the indomitable energy and zeal of Father McQuaid. According to the latter's testimony, "two thirds of the diocese were against Seton Hall for years, and three fourths were sneering at St. Elizabeth's," but he added: "I had one natural gift in high degree, it was not a saintly one—the more the opposition, the stronger the determination to succeed in spite of the devil and every one else."[27] What was worse than this was the fact that he had "much difficulty . . . to induce Bishop Bayley to let (him) begin," and he had "much greater difficulty . . . more than once to keep (Bishop Bayley) from breaking it up."[28] This was in regard to Seton Hall. Under the circumstances Bishop McQuaid later believed it wise on his part not to preach at the Month's Mind of Archbishop Bayley when invited to do so. He wrote some of his reasons to Bishop Corrigan, who was best able to appreciate them.

> In a calm review of the Archbishop's episcopal career, necessarily much would have to be said of Seton Hall and the Sisters of Charity, and the credit of both in whole be placed to his account. While it pleases me to have this done by others, it scarcely suits me so far to forget the

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[26] St. Elizabeth College Letters.

[27] *Ibid.*, July 22, 1905.

[28] Bishop McQuaid to Archbishop Corrigan, March 15, 1886: *Bishops and Dignitaries, 1886-1887*, New York Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie Seminary.

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truth. *Qui facit per alium, facit per se* is true in one sense, but not in every sense.

My services to Bishop Bayley were for fifteen years as disinterested as it was possible for them to be. They were substantial services whose fruits abundantly remain. He commanded them gratis, and they were as much as are ordinarily done by three priests. I never expected an acknowledgement or reward, and I never received any. My being Bishop of Rochester is through no act of his; we both labored to effect a change in the arrangement.

No man has sincerer respect and regard for the Archbishop than myself. His solid piety and genuine virtues I admire and venerate. All my disengaged masses are for his soul and will be for many a day to come. In no other way can I fulfil my duty towards one who was my bishop for fifteen years, and whom as such I obeyed and served in the work of God's Church. If I served the man, and not the Church, then I got no recompense in this world and I need not expect any in the next.[29]

Neither Seton Hall College nor the new Sisterhood of St. Elizabeth absorbed all Father McQuaid's energy and zeal. He was also active as pastor of St. Patrick's Cathedral, Newark. The *Catholic Almanac* of 1859 gives some insight into the organization of the parish. The parochial school had on its register 280 boys and 300 girls, while the Sunday Schools show an attendance of 1200. The living Rosary was divided into 95 bands with a total membership of 1421. The Children's Society of the Blessed Sacrament had 700 members. There was also a Young Men's Catholic Association, of which Rev. B. J. McQuaid was president. He had built for its use the Catholic Institute, 61 and 63 New Street and 14 South Essex Street, comprising a library, a lecture hall, a reading room, a book store, a ball court, a gymnasium, a billiard room, music rooms, etc.[30]

While Father McQuaid was thus alive to the spiritual interests of his flock, he also gave proof of zealous devotion to patriotic duty, which he urged by word and example when the Civil War threatened the integrity of the United States. April 22, 1861, Bishop Bayley made an interesting entry on his *Diocesan Register:* "Today we hoisted the American Flag on the Cathedral, it being the day of a great Union Meeting. Father McQuaid made a

[29] October 25, 1877: *Bishops and Dignitaries*, 1886-1887, New York Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie Seminary.

[30] *o. c.*, pp. 85, 88.

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speech in front of the Court House. Nothing can exceed the enthusiasm of the people in rushing to the defence of the Capitol, a sad necessity apparently."[31] The Pastor of the Cathedral was too necessary a man in the diocese to be spared for the war. "Gov. Olden," writes Bishop Bayley on May 11, "has appointed the Rev. Geo. H. Doane chaplain to the New Jersey Contingent, on my nomination."[32] Nevertheless, Father McQuaid also went to the front towards the end of the war, when he had reason to believe that proper care was not given to the spiritual welfare of the brave soldiers who were sacrificing their lives for the country in the closing struggle of the bloody conflict. At once he determined to investigate the matter personally and to supply what was lacking if it was in his power to do so. On May 18, 1864, he arrived in Washington, and three days later wrote an interesting letter to Bishop Bayley from Fredericksburg, where he was the only priest in the place, though the city was literally a hospital.[33] His services were well remembered by Dr. Kilroy, Stratford, Ontario, Canada, in a letter written as late as March 30, 1903: "thirty-nine years ago in May, he came to my tent at Acquia Creek on the Potomac just after the battle of the Wilderness and assisted nobly in taking care of the wounded."[34] He remained on duty there till a priest could be sent from New Jersey to take his place when he returned home.

Here new duties devolved upon him on the death of the Vicar-General, the Rev. Patrick Moran. In September, 1866, Bishop Bayley noted in the *Diocesan Register:* "I have appointed the Revd. Bernard J. McQuaid, President of Seton Hall College, Vicar-General of the Diocese." When Bishop Bayley's health broke down the following winter, the administration of the diocese was thrown upon the new Vicar-General, who seized the opportunity for a little effective house-cleaning that avarice, intemperance, and some minor evils in a few of the diocesan clergy had made very necessary. He would have liked to sift some more chaff from the wheat, as he wrote Bishop Bayley: "If you could manage to send me two or three good priests, I would

[31] *o. c.*, pp. 92.
[32] *Ibid.*, pp. 93.
[33] *Letters to Archbishop Bayley*, File 42, L to Z, Baltimore Cathedral Archives.
[34] Letter to Mrs. Tracey, Rochester, N. Y.

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rid you of some trouble that you will be sure to have one of these days. There are some of your Priests that would be much better in heaven than on this sinful earth. Still, make sure of what you bring, as importations and ex-religious are very uncertain investments."[35] The Vicar-General sent his bishop accounts of all his doings as administrator of the diocese. However, he was careful to warn Bishop Bayley not to become disquieted over these matters. "You must not suppose that there is any trouble in the diocese. I am always sure to be right, and when I put my hand on a poor fellow, I take a firm hold until he yields. Some of them may not have much love for me, and no doubt will never vote for me as Bishop, but they keep quiet and mind me."[36] He also believed his administration would bear good fruit later. "Many will rejoice at your return, and I devoutly hope that they will be able to appreciate a gentle, kind hearted, and unsuspecting Bishop when they again come under his immediate management." There can be little wonder that the government of the diocese under these circumstances, in addition to his other work, allowed Father McQuaid no leisure, for he wrote Bishop Bayley: "I have not been away from the diocese, nor am I likely to absent myself until your return, as I find that administering a diocese and a College is work enough for a man's whole time and attention."[37]

As Father McQuaid was closely identified with so many works of Newark Diocese, it is hardly surprising that he should have opposed his own nomination to the newly created Diocese of Rochester. He was not, however, on the original list of candidates for that bishopric. The minutes of the special meeting held for the erection of episcopal sees and vicariates-apostolic at the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, show that Bishop Timon of Buffalo, from whose diocese the new See was divided, presented the names of three priests, Rev. James M. Early, Rev. Martin O'Connor, and Rev. Joseph McKenna, whom the prelates of the New York Province also thought worthy to be com-

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[35] May 24, 1867. *Letters to Archbishop Bayley.* File 42, L to Z: Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

[36] May 27, 1867. *Ibid.*

[37] May 24, 1867. *Ibid.*

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mended for the new Diocese of Rochester.[38] Later some difficulty arose in regard to the candidates on this list, for Bishop Timon, December 26, 1866, wrote to Archbishop Spalding: "I would like to know the objection against Very Rev, James M. Early, first on the list for Rochester. He, I believe, to be unexceptional and the best could be named."[39] Nevertheless, Father Early's nomination was rejected in favor of Father McQuaid.

On the eve of his departure from New Jersey, a fine appreciation of his life as Father McQuaid was given by the Rev. William McNulty of Patterson in the address that he presented to the Bishop-elect in the name of the Clergy of the Diocese of Newark.

> The diocese, whose infant growth you have fostered, and for whose prosperity you have so unwearedly labored, while exulting in your elevation, parts from you with regret. The Bishop loses a faithful and efficient auxiliary, the clergy an estimable associate, the people a tried and true friend, ever watchful over their well being. The confidence which entrusted to your care the most important interests of religion and education has never been betrayed; for under your supervision there arose and now flourish institutions of which an older diocese might be proud. A noble college for the complete training of Catholic youth has by your hopefulness and perseverance been placed upon a basis of future success; and the time-honored order of Sisters of Charity, under your wise direction, has become a fountain of incalculable good in leading youthful souls to God. In the midst of these many cares, with this weight of responsibility bearing you down, we have seen you ever prompt and cheerful to relieve your brethren in the pulpit, at the altar, and in the confessional. Gratitude calls for this acknowledgement and ennobles it, and frees it from the suspicion of idle panegyric. . . . We congratulate the clergy and faithful people of Rochester on their first Bishop.[40]

REV. FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN, D.SC., M. H.,
St. Bernard's Seminary,
Rochester, N. Y.

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[38] II Plenary Council Baltimore. Actus Conventus specialis etc., Die xvi, xvii Octobris. Administration Archbishop Spalding. File 39, Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

[39] Letter to Archbishop Spalding. File 36. *Ibid.*

[40] *Newark Journal,* April 10, 1868.

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MISCELLANY

I

INTERROGATORIO Y RESPUESTAS OF FR. JOSÉ SEÑAN, AUGUST 11, 1815

(Contributed by Rev. Zephyrin Englehardt, O.F.M.)

In October, 1812, the Spanish Government, through the Minister of Foreign Relations, issued a list of thirty-six questions which were to be answered by all missionaries among the Indians. For California this list, called *Interrogatorio*, was sent to the Bishop of Sonora, whence it was transmitted to the Superior of the Missions. The latter forwarded the document as a circular to the nineteen missionary establishments existing at the time, with directions to make replies on all points in writing, and to send the paper to his Mission of San Buenaventura. Accordingly, "one and all," Professor A. L. Kroeber of the University of California writes, "they wrote as they thought, simply, truthfully, and without regard to style." Hence "we have here put down by observers on the spot, more than one hundred years ago, what the best ethnologist of to-day could not obtain more than fragments or traces of."[1]

From the replies returned to him by the missionaries, Fr. Presidente José Señan compiled his own *Respuesta*, which will be reproduced presently. To avoid waste of space the questions are omitted, as they can easily be inferred from the answers. However, the topics of the Interrogatory in their order were these: Races, their origin, languages, affection for wives, education, agriculture, mechanical arts, affection or aversion to foreigners, complaints, their remedies, inclination for reading and writing, means to inculcate love for Spanish, virtues, superstitions, catechism in native idiom, moral and political conditions, marriage customs, medical treatment, calendar, food, drink, sun or moon worship, traditions, funeral customs, fidelity, veracity, vices, trade and money, harvest customs, whether irascible, punishments, human sacrifices, rich natives, chiefs and caciques, mutual service, music, instruments, songs, prominent men, eternity, dress.

INTERROGATORIO Y RESPUESTAS

Viva Jesus, Maria, y José[2]

Reply of the undersigned Presidente of the Missions in this Alta California to the Interrogatorio addressed to the Rt. Rev. Bishop of

[1] *Mission Record of the California Indians*, pp. 2, 3. Berkeley, Cal., 1908.

[2] *Live Jesus, Mary, and Joseph*—Salutation used by some Fathers. Others would write *Dominus det tibi pacem, God grant thee peace.*

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Sonora on the sixth of October in the year 1812, by His Excellency Don Ciriaco Gonzalez Carvajal, Secretary of the Interior of the Government of the Dominion beyond the Sea, and circulated by me at the request of Don José Joaquin Calvo, administrator of said diocese.

Replies

1. The population of our Missions is composed of pure Indians without any mixture. Their Missionary Fathers are Europeans, with the exception of two who are Americans.[3] There are in every Mission also the families of the small guard of which individuals some are Spaniards, some are mestizos,[4] and some are of other castes; but all have the characteristics of conquerors, generally known as the *gente de razon*,[5] and there is in this province scarcely a thought or knowledge of any other class.

2. The *gente de razon*, with the exception of one or the other individual among the officers and troops, who are Europeans, very few, however, all came here from Sonora, Sinaloa, and Nueva Vizcaya in order to colonize these establishments. The Indians are natives of the rancherías[6] in the vicinity, children of pagan parents, save those born in the Mission according to the years of their respective founding. Neither the neophytes[7] nor the pagans offer any account of their origin; but, if conjectures be of value, we may say that they came from Asia, it being now certain that America is very near, and almost adjoining Asia in the northeast. Nevertheless, it is most probable that the ancient Mexicans on their long peregrinations examined this country, and that some remained because in ill-health, or exhausted, and many more on account of their fancy and free will. There is in this country no negro whatever, either native-born or foreigner.

3. Our neophytes speak their own language, but some, although imperfectly, speak our Spanish. The number of languages in this province is prodigious. Within fifteen, ten, and even fewer leagues in distance, they speak a distinct language, and scarcely do they understand one another.

4. In general, our neophytes love their women, and on arriving at a somewhat mature age they attend and assist them as true wives. The

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[3] Fr. Luis Gil y Taboada and Fr. Antonio Catarino Rodrígues, both natives of Mexico.

[4] Children of a white man and an Indian woman, or *vice versa*.

[5] People of reason. For brevity's sake the term will be retained.

[6] *Ranchería* means a great or small collection of Indian huts. The word is derived from *rancho*, a word originally applied by the Spaniards in New Spain to the place where food was distributed to laborers or soldiers.

[7] Convert Indians.

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young men, when they observe their wives pregnant, nursing, or in protracted illness, show them little sympathy. They love their children well enough, but they give them very little education in their pagan state. They are born among the mountains and in the ravines like savages, feeding on wild seeds, and are without either agriculture, or arts, or the occupations necessary in a civil life. Nor can their dulness inspire or impress their children with this knowledge. At the present time, the Missionary Fathers supply these defects in their neophytes by educating the parents and the children, and also by inducing them to till the soil, work as masons, as carpenters, weavers, and at other necessary occupations; for the Missionary Fathers shirk no labor to give them a Christian, rational, and civil education.

5. Neither our neophytes nor the heathen Indians distinguish or know Europeans from Americans. By them all are called *gente de razon*. It may be said that they are more favorably inclined towards them than hostile, much more so now that they know very well the object of our coming, and the temporal and eternal advantages of the Christian, rational, and civil life.

6. No signs of hatred or of any particular complaints against the said nations being observed, this article offers no subject. The paternal protection of the missionaries for the neophytes, as for their own children, restrains the *gente de razon* from inflicting vexation;[8] and if any individual on any occasion transgresses, a remedy is immediately applied by means of their officials, and thus by this simple expedient all live in peace.

7. One or the other of the neophytes, moved by curiosity rather than by utility, may manifest some inclination for reading and writing. Some of the boys will, at times, draw characters on the walls with charcoal to imitate our own; but in their pagan state they have not the slightest idea thereof. Only on the ground and on tree trunks they sometimes draw the figures of certain animals.

8. It is not as yet easy to point out any means to induce these poor neophytes to devote themselves to understand and speak Spanish. For the present, generally speaking, only that method can be employed which obtains in Missions or Reductions, where Indians of all ages have been collected, and are being collected in order to tame them and adapt them to Christian ways. At the same time, however, they keep up their relations, and dealings, and intercourse with the pagans.[9] This custom

[8] This was not generally true, for the soldiers from the beginning proved themselves a great drawback to the progress of the Missions. However, the most grievous troubles for the neophytes arose after 1826, when greed cast covetous eyes on Mission property.

[9] The Fathers tolerated the custom in order not to frighten away pagan aspirants.

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it is that retards and must retard their progress until the time when all pagans still outside the fold may be gathered into the Christian Mission family.

9. The virtues which permit themselves to be known in these poor people are patience and submission in hardships, and very particularly in illness. They likewise show themselves docile, obedient, and humble. With regard to this, however, it may be said that they also yield, owing to their cowardice and timidity. A charitable hospitality is observed among them; for not only the neophytes, but even the pagans of whatever class, receive any one and give him to eat from their own poor meals with agreeable generosity. These virtues are common to both sexes without notable difference.

10. The poor heathens raised in the darkness of the superstitions and vain observations of paganism, still preserve a little of their ritual, especially so the old men. The fisher must not eat of the fish he caught, nor the hunter of the deer, rabbit, hare, and other animals he secured, otherwise he should not catch or kill any more. In order to win a game of skill, it is necessary to fast for some days; and if then they lose, they are convinced that their competitor fasted somewhat more than they. The husband must not touch his wife until the child is able to keep on its feet alone, otherwise he should not have another. When the wife has given birth, the husband must not eat meat for some time lest the child die. Of this character are found among them other vain observances peculiar to the pagans and recent converts. The method to eradicate them so that they forget them is no other than instruction, time, and apostolic patience, which overcomes and succeeds in everything.

11. There are catechisms of the Christian doctrine in the language of the neophytes, and they are used alternately with the catechism in the Castilian language. They have not the approbation of any bishop;[10] for it would not only be difficult, but next to impossible, to revise them in so many and in such strange, barbarous, and unknown dialects as are found in this country, and of which there is no grammar nor dictionary to aid in the work. It costs even the immediate superiors here indescribable labor and patience to understand them, and then only with the help of the most experienced missionaries, or by their assistance and knowledge with the aid of interpreters whom they have well trained.

12. No inclination to idolatry is observed in our neophytes; nor can it be said that in their savage days there was any formal idolatry among them. In the vicinity of their rancherías, and in some spots in the moun-

[10] These Indian catechisms contained only the most essential doctrines and practices. They were not printed, and were intended only for private use.

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tains, they had certain places which were well cleaned, swept, and adorned with beautiful plumages fastened to poles. These sites in time came to be regarded as their sacred places. They would come together here in their necessities and pilgrimages. Then one, in the name of the rest who would observe profound silence, petitioned for rain, an abundance of acorns, seeds, and wild fruits, which are their daily sustenance, that they might catch many fish and kill many deer; that they might not be caught by any bear, nor bitten by any rattlesnake; and that they might enjoy health, and similar things. At the end of the supplication, they would employ the simple and plain mark of respect of offering beads, acorns, and various other seeds, in order that the Invisible One might look upon them and be propitious to them. This Invisible One, however, they pictured to themselves, in keeping with their crude ideas, as the author and giver of rain, seeds, fruits, and all the rest of things. The petition in the beginning, a salutation preceding it, was always uniformly the same, and in our language equivalent to "Grand Chief, or the Chief of all Chiefs, behold us, listen to what we say."

Some of the old men, pretending to be doctors, graduated in the school of their own ignorance, simplicity and rudeness, would relate a long series of fabulous stories, full of ridiculousness and extravagance, regarding the creation of the world and its government. The boys and young people took much delight in them, and they would even pay some old fellow to recite the stories. Many times neophytes with good sense, who possessed true Christian sentiments, assured me that they knew the futility of such stories. So whenever they saw boys in such circles, one or more would warn them, and remind them that there is truly and of a certainty One who made everything and gave them everything. It may be stated that among these poor savages a good disposition was found concerning this matter, for they listened to us with pleasure and attention when we spoke of God, the Creator of heaven and earth and of all things.

13. Six of our Missions do not as yet count twenty years since their founding, but in almost all the rest the Gospel net is gathering fresh converts from paganism. The son counts eighteen years as a Christian, but the father is an obstinate savage still, enamored of his brutal liberty and perpetual idleness. The granddaughter is a Christian, but the grandmother is a pagan. Two brothers may be Christian, but the sister stays in the mountains. A neophyte twenty years a Christian marries a woman but recently baptized. Such is the situation. To meet the question, however, we missionaries of many years' experience can affirm, not on the authority of any historian, but as eyewitnesses,

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that of our spiritual children before they were baptized the men went entirely naked but the women with less indecency. Now all, without distinction of sex or age, go decently dressed; that they formerly lived without ruler or law, whilst now they are subject to God, to His Precepts and to those of the Church, and they recognize Him as the Sovereign in the officials and in the missionaries who represent Him; that formerly they subsisted on acorns, seeds, grasses, roots, and such fruits as the soil of itself brought forth; now they maintain themselves by means of wheat, corn, peas, and other grains and vegetables, with meat in abundance, because the cattle have increased prodigiously; and that formerly, with the exception of the fishing season for those on the coast, and the period of hunting deer, hares, squirrels, and other animals for those in the mountains, they lived in perpetual idleness, roving about, dancing, and gambling. Now they pray morning and evening, and they work at their task and the duties of the Mission assigned to them. Nor is it a small matter that, whereas in heathenism they lived in continual war, at the echo of the Gospel trumpet and the sound of the Gospel of peace they broke their bows, made pieces of their weapons, and the God of Peace is known and praised among the Gentiles.

14. When our neophyte young men intend to marry, they offer some beads, an otter skin, a blanket, or some similar article to the bride or to her parents, but they extend to them no other mark of devotion. When afterwards they present themselves to the Missionary Father, and the examination prescribed by the Sacred Council of Trent discloses no impediment, he joins them in holy matrimony and blesses the marriage according to the Roman Ritual. In their savage state they are also accustomed to make a little present to the bride or to her parents, though not always. Some of them, owing to their good disposition and natural affection, would persevere in their matrimonial contract; but, generally speaking, it is almost incredible with what facility they take and divorce their wives. Women likewise not unseldom divorce their men. Neither party cares for nor understands the indissoluble bond. Such is their dulness and ignorance in this particular.

15. We Missionary Fathers, so far as possible, take care that in the Missions the most common medicaments are not lacking, as well for our own needs as for the necessities of our neophytes, to whom for their ills and external infirmities we apply various remedies. For the common and knowable maladies we apply one or the other that may benefit without being harmful. These poor people do not understand curative methods. When they feel sick, therefore, they lie down at full length near their much beloved fire until they are almost roasted. Their quacks administer herbs, roots, and bark of trees, but blindly

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without the proper knowledge of their curative power, and without giving any reason for using them. His father or some old man, the quack will say, told him that such an herb or root is good, and that suffices to cover the secret and gain more beads. They will contend that some are cured with such or such an herb, but it amounts to little that they believe so, as they do not consider that the greater portion of their infirmities is not serious, and that nature itself provides a corrective and cure. They have their equivalent to blood-letting in cutting themselves with a sharp stone and sucking the blood. This crude operation, because of the irritation which it occasions, fails not to have a good effect in some, especially when it is applied to tender parts. In order to purge themselves, they use various herbs; and for vomiting they drink an abundance of water mixed with salt, or sea-water. They make use of the thermal waters for pain in the bones, for the itch, and for similar ailments. Their most dominant diseases are the *galico*,[11] consumption, and dysentery, which usually attack them with somewhat more force in the spring and in the fall. The number of births does not correspond to the number of deaths, for in many years for each two that are born three die.

16. They know and distinguish the time of spring by the fresh growth in the country, and by the sprouting of various plants. When the seeds begin to ripen they know it is summer. The harvesting of the acorns, their principal sustenance in paganism, shows them that fall has arrived. The rains and the cold make them understand very well that winter has set in. Their dulness and ignorance knew nothing of calendars; and although their language has proper names for morning, noon, evening, and night, the pagans were wont to live according to their fancy, and did not understand what it had to do with their meals, activities, or rest. The neophytes, on the other hand, govern themselves in all this by the bell of the Mission.

17. The Indians take only one single meal, for even when at work they will be eating, and at any hour of the night, when they awaken or when they are roused, they take to eating with pleasure. In the Mission, at sunrise, they have morning prayer while Holy Mass is celebrated. After sunrise, they are given a ration of *atole*,[12] and the same is prepared for supper after the recital of the *Doctrina Christiana* in the evening. At noon the meal consists of a *pozole* of ground corn, wheat, peas, and other vegetables. Every week they receive their share of

[11] Venereal disease introduced by the soldiers and early settlers. It was this malady, incurable with Indians, as Fr. Abella wrote to Governor Solá, January 29, 1817, that was killing off the race in California.

[12] A gruel made of corn or barley of which the Indians were very fond.

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fresh beef in ample abundance, according to the means of the Mission. At this Mission (San Buenaventura) every week there are slaughtered sixty, fifty, or at least forty-five cattle. In the season when the cattle are very fat, the slaughter of sixty cattle takes place twice a week, in order to increase and sell the tallow so that necessary goods may be procured. Large portions of the meat are taken in carts to the field and burnt because there is no one to take it away, the neophytes in their houses having plenty of fresh and dried meat. In addition, in their homes they have quantities of acorns, *chia* and other seeds, fruits, eatable plants, and other wild nutritious plants, which they do not forget, and of which they are very fond. They also eat fish, mussels, ducks, wild geese, cranes, quail, hares, squirrels, rats, and other animals which exist in abundance. Owing to the variety of eatables which they keep in their homes, and being children who eat at all hours, it is not easy to compute the amount they daily consume.

18. They have not known fermented drinks; they only used a compound of wild tobacco, lime, and water, which they assure us comforts them very much; but when they take it to excess, it makes them drunk, and does them considerable harm.

19. Our heathen Indians have not adored either the sun or the moon.

20. On account of the continual wars which they carried on with their neighbors, and their supreme simplicity, they contented themselves with the knowledge of bows and arrows to defend themselves against their enemies, and for killing deer and other animals. They were also satisfied with the net for catching fish, and with their other primitive ways for obtaining food. The consequence was that their erudition and science dealt only with the stomach, dancing, and gambling, like children, without in the least caring whether there were any more people in the world than in the rancherías which they knew. The same may be said to have been the characteristics of their forefathers. Ignorance, stupidity, rusticity, and a supreme indifference for such subjects are doubtless their inheritance from a very early date.

21. The neophytes are buried according to the regulations of the Roman Ritual. In paganism some had the custom of burying the dead, others would burn them on a great pyre, accompanying the ceremonies with great lamentations whilst the relatives and friends would be stirring up the fire as much as they could until the body was consumed. At the burials they would inter, with the corpse beads, a cape made of otter or rabbit skins, or some other article that belonged to the deceased. With some Indians, on the grave they would plant a pole from which dangled an oar, net, bow, head of a deer, or some other

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mark of the occupation in which he excelled. They would also manifest their grief by cutting their hair, covering themselves with ashes, scratching their faces, blackening the face, and continuing to wail and cry for many days.

22. They are tolerably faithful in complying with their few and simple bargains, although in the case of their relatives and intimate friends their words must be taken in a wide sense, for they know how to leave it to oblivion, and then they comply with their promises tardily or never.

23. One who knows wrote that in the Indians the inclination, constancy, and tenacity for lying is remarkable; but our neophytes have no erroneous notions on that subject. They know it is wicked; and even in their heathen condition they knew this and despised lying.

24. Idleness is their most dominant vice, and this is followed, like companions, by incontinence and the propensity to steal. The feminine sex is somewhat industrious; but both classes are neophytes who are but now commencing to hear the names of virtues and religion, and we labor to instruct them in the maxims of religion with happy results. However, there are not lacking the headstrong and the stiff-necked.

25. The money current among these poor creatures are beads,[13] which they readily loan to one another without profit, and without any other compact than that it be returned in kind. They observed this practice almost generally in their savage state.

26. We are in active Reductions or Missions where the neophytes live in community, and where the Missionary Father cares for the agriculture and everything, otherwise the Indians would run to the mountains, for they are but children, habituated to live like little birds, that do not plough, nor sow, nor possess barns. Nevertheless, in order to have them grow fond of an industrious life, and without prejudice to the support of the community, the neophytes may have private gardens in which the more diligent raise for themselves pumpkins, watermelons, sugar melons, corn, and other grain. The missionaries encourage them in this, and help them to succeed. In the savage state the Indians knew nothing about agriculture, but adhered to the acorns, wild seeds and wild fruits, and to their beloved idleness.

27. It may be safely asserted that these people in general are peaceful rather than inclined to anger. Much less can the odious adjective cruel be applied to them; for, although they frequently waged war, and at times were somewhat harsh on their enemies, they were driven to it through the necessity of defending their wives, their right to the territory

[13] *Abalorios*, made of mussel-shells, perforated and arranged on a string. The value depended on the length of the string.

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where they harvested the acorns and seeds, upon which they depended for their subsistence; or also because the enemy had mentioned any one of their dead by the proper pagan name, which with them is regarded as the most grievous injury and crime. Public vengeance for the curbing and punishment of excesses committed by individuals, and for maintaining peace, was not known among the pagan Indians. The consequence of this was that any one, who considered himself injured, would himself take satisfaction and revenge. Sometimes he would enlist relatives in his cause. In some cases it was made a common cause. The chief and the whole ranchería, with other friendly and allied rancherías, would then plan revenge. In the Missions no neophyte punishes another by his own authority. The Missionary Father attends to the correction and suitable chastisement, and he applies the punishment like a natural father on his sons. The criminal cases are punished by royal justice.

28. The pagans in these parts have never recognized the wicked cruelty of sacrificing human victims to false gods. Now, after this hemisphere has been illumined by the gentle light of the holy Gospel, they have no such detestable inclination.

29. This article has been already answered in Nos. 12, 21, and 28.

30. As has been said, in these Reductions or Missions the neophytes live in community, and all, so far as possible, are succored in health and sickness. The product of the labor of those in good health is also employed for the maintenance of the old people, the children, the blind, and the many others who are incapacitated. No one may call himself rich, but all may claim to be well provided, because they possess what is necessary for corporal subsistence through the moderate labor to which those who are well and capable apply themselves. The people of the other caste in the four garrisons maintain themselves by the salary received from the King our Lord. In the towns and ranchos[14] there are no rich whatever. Nevertheless, some appear to be well situated, and they are those only who distinguish themselves by their good conduct, industrious character, and application in cultivating vineyards, fields of grain, and the sale of their produce.

31. There are in these Reductions or Missions no other distinctions of persons than the two alcaldes and two regidores, who are elected annually. Under the supervision of the Missionary Father, they oversee the work. For their office they are distinguished somewhat by their dress, etc. In criminal matters they are subject to the commander of the nearest garrison or presidio and the corporal of the mission guard; but in economical affairs, and with regard to the government of the

[14] Word used in the west for *farms*.

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Mission, they are subject to the Missionary Father, who directs them, and who sees that their election at the proper time is conducted with all the formalities of the law. In paganism every ranchería had one or more chiefs or *capitanos* whom they recognized in their battles with their enemies, and with regard to invitations for their pagan feasts. Then all contributed seeds and beads, which were divided among those invited. These functions excepted, the Indians were not accustomed to recognize any chiefs. Every one did what he pleased, and lived in the widest liberty and independence.

32. Here no one renders personal service to any one else. We missionaries serve them all in spiritual and temporal things, curing their wounds, assisting them in their illness, guiding their work, procuring what they must eat and with what they must clothe themselves, and we do everything else necessary for the maintenance of the Mission. The neophytes serve us in preparing the food, washing what little clothing we wear, as acolytes for the functions of the Church, in the administration of the Sacraments, in assisting at the distribution of the remedies for the sick, and in a thousand other little things which it would be impossible for us to accomplish without the hands and feet of the boys.

33. They are now very well inclined to sing and to play upon any kind of string or wind instruments. They possess a facility for learning the sonatas which they hear, or which they are taught. In the savage state they used only a small flute made of elder-wood, and in their grand feasts also a whistle of deer bone, which the "musicians" cause to shriek and trill, whilst at the same time they perform violent, strange, and ridiculous contortions of the body. Their songs are weird, and, as a rule, more fit to produce gloom than cheer. What in truth they would manifest particularly was an admirable keeping of time and an imperturbable sameness in those who were singing as well as in those who would be dancing.

34. We are in rather lively Reductions where have been, and are congregated, various savages who roved through the mountains, and who have not even had an idea of letters or characters. Their whole scientific knowledge consisted of more or less dexterity for killing deer, for fishing, for catching ducks, and other efforts for securing food and whiling away the time of life. They had some sort of knowledge of warfare; but almost always they would kill their adversaries, take vengeance on them in cold blood by coming upon them unawares, or when the enemies were in smaller numbers, and by employing cunning and malignant tricks, like cowardly men without bravery. No catalogue of illustrious men can be compiled of such people.

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35. They had some kind of an idea of the immortality of the soul, but this idea was engulfed in a thousand puerilities suggested by their coarse habits. Also of rewards and punishments they had some notion, but it implied only temporal punishment during the course of life. After that, they were persuaded that the souls of the dead, all without exception, would be translated to a place, and well received, which they claimed is very distant, but delicious, where there would be many fishes, and where they would eat aplenty, rove about, gamble, dance, and divert themselves, which is about as much as these wretched people in their paganism craved. Of Final Judgment, of Heaven, Purgatory, and Hell they never thought. Now our neophytes have a perfect knowledge of these truths of our holy Faith; and even the pagan know something about them, because they hear of them from their Christian relatives, and much more from the missionaries.

36. The dress of the neophyte men consists of a shirt commonly called *coton*, the breechcloth which serves to cover them decently, in place of pantaloons,[15] and a blanket. The women wear the *coton*, petticoat, and blanket. All this clothing is made at the Mission.[16] They move about very decently clad, and they have a sufficient liking for it, especially the young people. The pagan Indians could see no use for clothing, with the exception of the women, who used some deer skins, or went about with an apronlike covering woven from fibres or grass.

Mission San Buenaventura, August 11, 1815.

Fr. José Señan.[17]

II.

AN EARLY JESUIT WORK ON THE WRITING AND JUDGING OF HISTORY

Historical writing in France during the seventeenth century is best known through the "Memoir" which never reached fuller maturity in any country or age. During this period also, the Jesuits, Oratorians, Benedictines, and above all, Bishop Bossuet, "the most skilful expositor and champion of the Catholic faith in modern times," contributed much to the development of historiography in France.

But works on historical art or method did not show the same progress. Many, indeed, wrote of the theory of history, but none dealt seriously with the deeper questions concerning its science or philosophy. La Mothe le Vayer (*Discours du peu de certitude en l'Histoire*, 1668)

[15] The neophytes disliked them, but in time they yielded.

[16] From the shearing of the sheep, spinning, weaving, to the last stitch.

[17] Santa Barbara Mission Archives.

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endeavored to prove history the greatest argument for scepticism. The Abbé de Saint-Reál (*De l'usage de l'Histoire*, 1671) found history valuable only in so far as it enables us to study man and to know him through his vanity. Father Rapin (*Instructions sur l'Histoire*, 1677), by adopting what was of value in the earlier studies of the subject and adding to it his own reflections, gave one of the best treatments of the rhetoric of history that had up to that time been attempted. Later, an Oratorian, Father Thomassin (*Méthode d'étudier et d'enseigner chrétienment et solidement les historiens profanes*) attempted to show from the history of man, up to the establishment of Christianity, that the ancient historians confirm the main truths of religion and the prevalence of the principles of morality.[1]

In the Library of Congress there is a small volume (narrow octodecimo), of 224 pages, the title-page of which reads: *Of the Art Both of Writing and Judging of History, with Reflections upon Ancient as well as Modern Histories. Shewing Through what Defects there are so few Good; and that it is Impossible there should be any so much as Tolerable. By the most Learned and Ingenuous Jesuit Father Le-Moyne.*[2] This work, printed in London in 1695, is a translation of the author's *De l'Histoire*[3] which first appeared in Paris in 1670. A brief summary of this book will show the character of these early works on historic method.

Father Le Moyne enjoyed more than ordinary reputation in his time as a poet but left nothing of historical nature.[4] In his later years, about 1665, he wrote a History of Cardinal Richelieu which was to form a part

[1] For a full discussion of historiography and historical reflection in France in the seventeenth century, see ROBERT FLINT, *History of the Philosophy of History* (Scribner's, 1894), volume on France, pp. 202–234.

[2] Pierre Le Moyne was born at Chaumont, March 5, 1602, of rich and influential parents. In 1619, at the age of seventeen, he entered the Jesuit novitiate of Nancy, and began the study of theology in 1626. In 1629 he is found at the college of Rheims, where he taught rhetoric and published anonymously his first poems. He next taught philosophy for two years at Dijon. In the meantime he was ordained. Later he taught in the college at Langres. In 1639 he was added to the faculty of Clermont College, Paris. That same year he took his final vows. He left Clermont in 1650 to reside at the Professed House of Paris, where he died, August 22, 1671. Father Le Moyne enjoyed a high reputation as a preacher, and he was the first French Jesuit to gain recognition in the writing of poetry. H. CHÉROT, S.J., *Étude sur la Vie et les Œuvres du P. Le Moyne* (Paris, 1887), pp. 1–30; HAMY, *Galerie Illustrée de la compagnie de Jésus* (Paris, 1893), v, p. 80; DE BACKER, *Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, ii, 1393–1398.

[3] Sometimes confounded with Saint-Reál's *De l'usage de l'Histoire* (Paris, 1671). There is also a Spanish translation by P. Francisco Garcia, *Arte de historia escrito en lengua francesa por el Padre Pedro Moyne. . . .* (Madrid, 1676).

[4] For a complete list of Father Le Moyne's writings, see CHÉROT, *op. cit.*, 503–547; DE BACKER, *op. cit.*, 1393–1398.

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of a larger History of the Reign of Louis XIII. This began with the death of Henry IV, and was brought down to March, 1638, but it was never published. It was about this time that *De l'Histoire* was composed. The treatise is made up of nine "dissertations" with subchapters under each. Lest he be accused of presumption or infidelity to the muses in leaving Homer and Virgil to follow after Thucydides and Livy, the author attempts to show in the beginning that poetry and history are closely allied, "the descent is almost insensible by which you may pass from one to another." A man must be a poet to be an historian; history is but a poem without constraint of numbers and measure. He would exclude from the title of historian "the makers of legends and chronicles, the remassers of journals and gazettes, and historiographers who are perpetual compilers." So, he concludes, if he have any poetic spirit, he could not better employ his time than in the composition of a history.

The difficulty of the undertaking is made apparent to him in the small number of those who have written history with success. Greece had but two or three, ancient Rome but four—Salust, Tacitus, Livy, and Quintus Curtius. He deplores the work of Luceus, who has so well arranged the facts and deeds of the consulate of Cicero, while Caesar's *Commentaries* contain excellent matter but "half wrought." Thus he continues his criticism of a long list of modern historians. His judgments concerning Grotius, the Italian Guicciardini, Davila, Bentivoglio, Maffeus, Strada, and Mariana of Spain, the last three Jesuit writers, while more favorable, find the method of all faulty. France, he maintains, up to that time could not boast of a single good historian. He ostracizes De Thou and De la Barda because they wrote in Latin rather than in the language of their country. The writers of memoirs, Beleagnangis, Montluc, the Duke de Nevers, Castelneau, Tavannes, and Sully, deserve not the name of historians: those of the Duke of Guise and the Duke of Rochefoucault are superior to the former. But Commines is sincere, judicious, and instructive, yet he "mounts no higher than an essay or rough draught of history."

Father Le Moyne next discusses the qualifications that an historian should possess. He considers Lucian too exacting in demanding that he have prudence begun by study and finished by serving as a minister of state, and that he be a military commander. This same obligation would lie upon the writer of heroic poems. Yet Homer could be no warrior, for he was blind. The first quality of an historian, it is here advanced, is that he be a man of wit, possessing an unbounded spirit that raises itself above crowns and all forms of politics. He should also have a clear judgment to distinguish the true from the false; he must be

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equitable to do justice to all, and moderate, not to carry his thoughts and expressions beyond this matter.

The nature and art of history are next considered. The dispute concerning the etymology of the word is referred to, some deriving it from the Greek word meaning "to recount," others from another signifying "to stop the flood," because history "stops the flood of things and gives them consistence and durance." He divides history into divine, natural, and humane, the first inspired, the second containing works on nature, and the last treating of men's actions. Humane history is subdivided into true, fabulous, universal, particular, and singular. After examining and refuting the definition of history as given by Vossius, Le Moyne defines it as "a continued narration of things true, great, and public, writ with spirit, eloquence, and judgment, for instruction to particulars and princes, and the good of civil society." Its parts are narration, harangues, and digression, the first essential, the last accidental. Actions are the matter of narration, truth the end of judgment. When the latter fails it is because of ignorance, hatred, or flattery. To avoid these, the historian should not trust to fame or report, he should not draw his material from the writings of interested persons or enemies, but rather from the letters and instructions of those who have been participants in affairs or witnesses to them. Nothing should enter history but that which is great and illustrious; trifling things should have no place there. Nor should military actions be the principal matter of history, for it is the historian's part to teach the art of ruling and serving by explaining councils, exposing intrigues, unfolding reasons of state, and by disentangling the motives and pretexts of affairs. Whether private actions should be disclosed in history, whether the vices of the great should be published, and whether the truth should ever be partly suppressed by the historian, are other questions considered by the author.

The last five dissertations deal with the rhetoric of history—sentences and their kinds, the worth of description and rules governing it, harangues, digressions, the order of presentation, and, finally, the style to be used by the historian. In this day of striving after scientific perfection, when accuracy is the badge of scholarship, and footnotes the sign-posts to authority, there will be none to defend Father Le Moyne's strange theory that the historian must at times make his characters speak. His reasoning is curious: "A trader that is dumb, a counsellor silent, an ambassador without words, would make but strange figures . . . Are ambassadors accused of falsehood, that express themselves more elegantly than their instructions: and the letters of a secretary of state, do they cease to be true, and the Prince's, because they are more enlarged, and in better terms, than in the original?"

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This brief summary will doubtless force the judgment that Father Le Moyne's treatise is a feeble, amateurish production. It is, if appraised according to present-day standards. But it must be remembered that when he wrote, history was not subjected to the scientific process of today. Le Moyne and his contemporaries turned to history not so much in order to expound the conditions and processes on which the formation of historical science depends as to find in it a pleasant art, entertainment, and materials for writing and speaking on moral and political life. These early, crude publications on the art of writing, reading, and judging of history were not only evidences of a growing interest in the study of history, but also they were the beginnings of an effort to ascertain the methods by which historical truth could be attained and historical science constituted. Like all beginnings they are more or less chaotic and nebulous when viewed from the heights of subsequent development, but at the same time they possess real interest and, like other pioneer movements, they deserve charitable attention.[5]

[5] The English translation of Le Moyne's work is presented to the reader with the extravagant statement that "there is nothing of our English growth to be compared to it . . . nor can France itself, or those more southern nations . . . boast of any production of this kind that approacheth, much less equaleth it." P. C. F. DAUNOU, *Cours d'études historiques* (Paris, 1844), vii, pp. 97–106, says of it: "I cannot adopt all the maxims and precepts contained in this treatise; but I believe that after that of Lucian, it is the best we have yet seen, and I greatly doubt whether any of those whose acquaintance we have still to make has risen to the same height of philosophy and originality." On the other hand, FLINT (*op. cit.*, p. 207) terms it "a rhetorical and affected composition, without any solid merits. The judgments pronounced by it on historians like Thucydides and Sallust are unwarrantable and presumptuous. One of the seven [nine] dissertations of which it consists is a defence of the introduction of feigned speeches into history, but it is entirely destitute even of ingenuity in error." LENGLET DU FRESNOY, *Méthode pour étudier l'Histoire* (Paris, 1735, iii, p. 3), says that the work "although but little read, has certain curious and singular marks. It does not lack judgment, but it abounds in lively expressions, which show a strong imagination, and that of Fr. Le Moyne is sometimes very glowing." Finally, there is the opinion of Chérot, himself a Jesuit, who, in his *Étude sur la Vie et les Œuvres du P. Le Moyne* (pp. 406 *et seq.*), has given an extended and sounder estimate of the treatise. From Le Moyne's book he quotes: "It was said by a great Cardinal, rich in expression, that it belonged not to barbers to play upon the lute, beggars to eat melons, nor pedants to read Virgil. It may be added, nor those that want the quill of an eagle to write history." "The quill of the eagle," concludes Chérot, "with which he wrote, was burned when he composed his treatise *de l'Histoire*."

LEO F. STOCK,
Carnegie Institution.
Department of Historical Research,
Washington, D. C.

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DOCUMENTS

AN HISTORICAL, POLITICAL, AND NATURAL DESCRIPTION OF CALIFORNIA[1]

By Don Pedro Fages

(*Translated by Herbert I. Priestley, Ph.D., University of California, Berkeley, Cal.*)

PART II

Introduction

The document herewith translated into English is one of the earliest descriptions of California extant. It comes from the pen of one of the participants in the first expedition of the Spaniards to Monterey in 1769, and possesses the value of having been composed just at the close of the author's first period of activity in California; it is thus free from the burdensome detail of an actual diary, and is not characterized by the vagueness and unreliability common to reminiscences. As Fages indicates in his title, the work was written as a continuation to the two previously printed works on the Gálvez expedition which he mentions by name. The first of these was the *Estracto de noticias del puerto de Monterrey*, which was published at Mexico over the date August 16, 1770. Of this, a second edition bearing the same date and place was also issued. Both editions are in the Bancroft Library, University of California. The *Estracto de noticias* was reprinted in Father Francisco Palóu's *Relación histórica de la vida . . . del Venerable Padre Fray Junípero Serra*, Mexico, 1787, pp. 108–12, and again in the same author's *Noticias de la Nueva California*, Mexico, 1857 (*Documentos para la historia de Mexico*, series 4, Vols. 6 and 7), and San Francisco, 1874, 4 volumes, as a publication of the California Historical Society. A translation was published in *The Land of Sunshine*, Los Angeles, Vol. 15 (July, 1901), pp. 47–9. Another translation, accompanied by a reprint of the first Mexican edition, was issued by the Academy of Pacific Coast History as Vol. 1, No. 2, of its *Publications*, Berkeley, 1909.

The second and complete account of the expedition, which was promised in the concluding paragraph of the *Estracto*, was written by the engineer Miguel Costansó; it appeared under the title: *Diario histórico de los viages de mar, y tierra hechos al norte de la California*, and was dated October 24, 1770. It is to be inferred that it was printed immediately thereafter. Certainly it was printed earlier than November 20, 1775, for on that date Fages, concluding his *Continuación y suplemento*, said that the *Diario histórico* had already been printed. The British Museum Catalogue gives 1770 as the date of publication. A manuscript copy of the *Diario histórico* was used by William Reveley for his English translation published by Alexander Dalrymple as *An historical journal*

[1] *Continuación y suplemento á los dos impresos que de orden de este Superior Govierno han corrido: el uno con el titulo de* Extracto de noticias del Puerto de Monterrey, *su fecha 16 de Agosto de 1770; y el otro titulado* Diario histórico de los viajes de mar y tierra hechos al norte de California *su fecha 24 Octubre del mismo ano. Hase y presenta esta relacion por superior mandato de su Excelencia el Sr̃nor Virrey actual de estos reynos, Don Antonio Maria Bucareli y Ursúa, el capitan de infanteria de la Compania Franca de Voluntarios de Cataluña, y comandante militar que ha sido de los nuevos establecimientos en aquellas provincias, Don Pedro Fages. Mexico, November 20, 1775.*

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of the expeditions, by sea and land, to the north of California; in 1768, 1769 and 1770: when Spanish establishments were first made at San-Diego and Monte-Rey, London, 1790. A modern translation into English was published in *The Land of Sunshine*, Vol. 14 (1901), pp. 485–96, and Vol. 15 (1901), pp. 38–47. The Spanish text with English translation was issued by the Academy of Pacific Coast History as Vol. 2, No. 4, of its *Publications*, 1910.

In addition to the two printed works, Fages used in his writing the diary of Miguel Costansó and his own letter to the viceroy, Bucareli, written at Monterey, November 24, 1773. To these written sources he added from his own experiences and observations the more interesting and valuable parts of the document.

The *Continuación y suplemento* apparently was never printed in the original Spanish. A copy of the manuscript came into the possession of M. Ternaux-Compans, and was used to make a translation into French which appeared in *Nouvelles annales des voyages et des sciences géographiques*, Vol. 101 (1844), pp. 145–82, 311–47.

The original signed manuscript is in the Mexican archives, Museo Nacional, *Documentos relativos á las misiones de Californias*, small folio series, Vol. 4. A signed contemporary copy dated November 30, 1775 (ten days later than the foregoing), is in the Spanish archives at Seville, *Estante* 104, *cajón* 6, *legajo* 17. Transcripts from both archives are in the Bancroft Library. The translation herewith presented was made from the transcript from the Mexican archives, which has been compared with the copy from Spain, as well as with a contemporary unsigned copy in the possession of Mr. H. R. Wagner, of Berkeley, California. The textual differences in these various forms of the document are those characteristic of most handwritten archive materials, and have not been noticed in the translation, save for the addition of a vocabulary from San Luis Obispo, which was added from the Seville manuscript.

The document is recognized as of the first importance to California ethnology. The French version was used by Bancroft to a limited extent in his *Native Races* and in his *History of California*. More recently an English version in manuscript by Miss M. H. Van Gulpen was used by J. Alden Mason in "The Ethnology of the Salinan Indians" (University of California *Publications in American archaeology and ethnology*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1912). The document has not until now, however, been made available in English to the public in general or to ethnologists and historians interested in the field surveyed by Fages, hence this new and independent translation is presented.

A word should be said for the author of the *Continuación*. Pedro Fages has a large place in the history of Spanish California. He was a young Catalan, and a lieutenant of Catalonian Volunteers, when he first appeared in Californian annals. He rendered service in New Spain in 1768 as a member of the expedition to Sonora under Colonel Domingo Elizondo against the revolted natives. He was sent to lower California in 1769 to participate in the Gálvez expedition for the occupation of Monterey. He was in command of the military force aboard the *San Carlos*, on which he reached San Diego, May 1, 1769. On land he was second in command to Gaspar de Portolá, whom he accompanied to

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Monterey on the two expeditions of 1769-70. Upon the departure of Portolá from California on July 9, Fages was left as *comandante* of the "New Establishments," in which office he continued until May 25, 1774. He was promoted to a captaincy May 4, 1771, and to a lieutenant colonelcy at some time between 1777 and 1781.

His goings and comings within California gave him the experiences which make his untutored observations on California ethnology of such intense interest. In addition to his journeys with Portolá, he made an expedition from Monterey to the vicinity of Alameda in November, 1770. In March and April of 1772 he again visited the bay region with Father Crespi, going as far as the mouth of the San Joaquin River. In May of the same year he spent several weeks in the San Luis Obispo region hunting bears to supply the Monterey establishments with meat. In August he went to San Diego, where he came into conflict with Father Serra over the advisability of establishing new missions without added soldiers to serve as guards. Serra went to Mexico and obtained the removal of Fages on May 25, 1774, but subsequently expressed regret at his removal and appreciation for his services. It was while Fages was in Mexico City, after his recall, that he wrote the *Continuación*.

Subsequently, he served at Guadalajara, and in Indian fighting on the Sonora frontier. In 1781–82 he led an expedition to the Colorado River to punish the Yuma Indians for their destruction of the new mission-colonies there. About this time he made one or more visits to southern California. He was in the Colorado region when on September 10, 1782, he received his appointment as governor of the Californias, in which capacity he served until April 16, 1791. Never again, after his later interesting wanderings, did he find time to write so informative a report as that of 1775. The date of his death is supposed to have been in 1796. He had outlived most of the generation of notables who effected the occupation of California.

The first part of this Document was published in the January, 1919, issue of the *Review*.

Observations on Political and Natural History

At the mission of San Luis Obispo and for a radius of about twelve leagues around it, I have observed the following: The natives are well-appearing, of good disposition, affable, liberal, and friendly toward the Spaniard. As to their government, it is by captaincies over villages, as in the others; the captains here also have many wives, with the right of putting them away and taking maidens only; here also the other Indian men have not this privilege, for they have only one wife, and do not marry a second time, until they are widowed. They have cemeteries set apart for the burial of their dead. The god whom they adore, and to whom they offer their seeds, fruits, and all that they possess, is the sun. They are addicted to the unspeakable vice of sinning against nature, and maintain in every village their *joyas*, for common use.

Their houses, shaped like half-globes, are neatly built; each one is capable of sheltering four or five families which, being kin, are accustomed to live together. The houses have one door on the east, and one on the west, with a sky-light in the roof, halfway between. Their beds are built up high on bedsteads, which are here

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called *tapextles*, of heavy sticks; a reed mat serves as a mattress, and four others as curtains, forming a bedroom. Beneath the bedsteads are the beds of the little Indians, commodiously arranged. The men do not often sleep in their houses at night; but, carrying with them their arms, bow, and quiver, they are accustomed to congregate in numbers in great subterranean caves, where they pass the nights in sheer terror; [if they stayed at home] they might be surprised in their beds by the enemy whilst defenseless on account of the presence of their wives and children. They also congregate thus in order to keep watch, spy upon, set traps for and surprise those who may be taken off their guard, for they are a war-like people, always roaming from village to village at odds with every one.

Their dress and clothing are like that of the Indians of San Gabriel, except that here one sees the hair oftener worn flowing, and of fine texture. The women wear toupés made by burning, and their coiffure is of shells, as I said in a previous chapter. On their cloaks or skirts, stained a handsome red, they put as a trimming or decoration various fabrications made from tips of shells and small snail-shells, leaving numerous pendants hanging from the margins, after the style of the trinkets of our children. For an adornment and as a protection from the sun, they cover their heads with little woven trays or baskets decorated with handsome patterns, and shaped like the crown of a hat. Both men and women like to go painted with various colors, the former especially when they go on a campaign, and the latter when they are having a festal occasion, to give a dance.

When an Indian woman is in childbirth, she makes a small hole wherever she may be when her labor begins, even though it be in the open field; she digs out the soil, puts in a little hay or grass neatly arranged, warms the hole with fire, of which she always carries a supply ready, and composes herself quite tranquilly to give birth. She removes from her child the envelope and adhesions bestowed by nature, strokes it, and deforms the cartilaginous part of the nose by flattening; then she goes without delay to bathe herself with cold water, whereupon the entire operation is completed without further ceremony. The child is then swaddled from the feet to the shoulders with a band to shape its body; thus enveloped, it is fastened against a coffin-shaped board, which the Indian woman carries suspended from her shoulders by cords; she takes the child in her arms without removing it from the frame every time she needs to give it milk, or to soothe it if it cries. Thus the Indian women are left unencumbered for all their duties and occupations, without on account of them having to leave off caring for and nursing their children, a very natural course of procedure.

It is not to be denied that this land exceeds all the preceding territory in fertility and abundance of things necessary for sustenance. All the seeds and fruits which these natives use, and which have been previously mentioned, grow here and in the vicinity in native profusion. There is a great deal of century plant of the species which the Mexicans call *mescali*. The mode of using it is as follows: They make a hole in the ground, fill it in compactly with large firewood which they set on fire, and then throw on top a number of stones until the entire fire is covered, but not smothered. When the stones are red hot, they place among them the bud of the plant; this they protect with grass or moistened hay, throwing on top a large quantity of earth, leaving it so for the space of twenty-four hours. The next day they take out their century plant roasted, or *tlatemado* as they say. It is juicy, sweet, and of a certain vinous flavor; indeed, very good wine can be made from it.

They use the root of a kind of reed of which they have a great abundance; cleansing the earth from it, and crushing it in their mortars, they then spread it in the sun to dry; when it is dry they again moisten it, removing all the fibrous part until only the

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flour is left. From this they make a gruel and a very sweet, nourishing flour. At the beginning of the rainy season, which, as in Spain, occurs in the months of November and December, they gather a quantity of cresses, celery, and amaranth. They also eat a kind of sweet flower similar to the wild rose although smaller, of which the bears are also very fond; it grows in swampy humid places in canyons. The cubs of this kind of bear, which the Indians hunt, stealing them from their mothers, are raised and fattened for eating when they are ready, as is done with pigs.

I will omit repetition of the land animals, birds, and amphibians, of which I have made mention in other chapters. Among reptiles and insects, here are seen the tarantula, the star-lizard, and a kind of small but extremely poisonous viper. Among the seafish there are many sea-bream, crabs, whitefish, *curbina*, sardines of three kinds, *cochinillo*, and tunny; in the streams and rivers there are trout, spine-backs, *machuros* (an Indian name), and turtles. The fishing-canoes are finely described in the public accounts published in October of the year 1770. The tridents they use are of bone; the barb is well shaped and well adapted to its use. The fish-hooks are made of pieces of shell fashioned with great skill and art. For catching sardines, they use large baskets, into which they throw the bait which these fish like, which is the ground-up leaves of cactus, so that they come in great numbers; the Indians then make their cast and catch great numbers of the sardines.

In their manufactures, these Indians, men and women alike, are more finished and artistic than those of the mission of San Gabriel. They know how to make very beautiful inlaid work of mother-of-pearl on the rims and sides of stone mortars, and various other utensils. The women weave nearly all their baskets, pitchers, trays, and jars for various uses, interweaving with the reeds or willows, or embroidering upon them long, flexible, fibrous roots, which keep their natural color, white, black, or red. They also do the same with shells and small stones of the same three colors for decorating their cloaks and embroidering the bands of their head-gear. The tools of these skilful artisans are only two, the most simple ones in the world, the knife and the punch. This latter, used by the women, is a piece of bone as sharp as an awl, from the fore leg, next to the shin-bone, of the deer. The other is more particularly a tool for the men. They usually carry it across the head, fastened to the hair. It is a flint cut tongue-shaped, with very sharp edges; they affix it to a very small handle of straight polished wood inlaid with mother-of-pearl. These knives are made, as is perhaps natural, by rubbing and rubbing away the stone (or natural glass) in contact with harder ones, with water and fine sand. With these knives they supply their lack of iron and steel by dint of much labor and industry.

For starting a fire, which can be communicated to, and made to inflame, other materials, they use the only means they have—since they lack steel as has been said or instruments for focusing the rays of the sun—namely, that of rubbing one stick forcibly against another.

These natives always carry their means of making fire in the shape of two small sticks attached to the net with which they are accustomed to gird themselves; one stick is like a spindle, and the other is oblong, or it might properly be called a parallelopiped; in it there is a hole in the middle, in which the end of the other stick may be rotated. When they want to make fire, they secure the square stick firmly on the ground between the feet, and the round one, stuck into the hole, they rotate rapidly between the hands. It begins to smoke instantly, and both sticks are burned a little.

Concluding the chapter, I will say that at a distance of two leagues from this mission there are as many as eight springs of a bitumen or thick black resin which they call *chapopote;* it is used chiefly by these natives for calking their small water-craft, and to pitch the vases and pitchers which the women make for holding water. This

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black liquid springs from the ground and runs amid the water of the streams without commingling with it or giving it a bad flavor; I observed that, on the contrary, the water of such supplies was most excellent. The source or spring of this bitumen is four leagues farther up, in a canyon which runs east and west, in which it is seen collected in pools arising from different sources and running together with the water, like that of the springs farther down.

Article V

From the Sierra de Santa Lucia to the Real Blanco

This stage was composed of nine marches, which were estimated to cover in all nineteen leagues, as follows: First: One enters by a canyon which permits ingress into the range, following the stream first on one side and then on the other, as the ground permits. The canyon is very narrow, and contains running water, which in places cuts against the bases of the hills which confine it. At a distance of one league it is divided into two branches; one of them flows toward the east-northeast, and the other toward the north. From this point, which was our camping-place, there is seen, more to the northeast, a hill which is not so beetling as the walls of the canyon. Second: Ascending this hill, after having cleared the land and opened the road by hand, one continues along the crest of other hills which form the north fork. Descending thence by a long slope, we camped within a hollow where lived as many as sixty exceedingly docile and obsequious natives. The entire day's march was perhaps a matter of one league; the camping-place was named the Hoya de Santa Lucía.

Third: With great fatigue, overcoming difficulties at every step, ascending and descending very rough slopes and wading through streams, uncertain of our objective point, and hidden in an expanse of mountains which seemed to have no end in any direction, but examining even to the highest peaks, we stopped, after going two leagues, to camp in a very narrow canyon in which little pasture and less water were found. There were in the vicinity three bands of Indians—wanderers like those of the preceding group, without house or home. They were at this time engaged in harvesting pine-nuts, of which there is abundance throughout the entire range. The camp was called the Real de los Piñones.

Fourth: Thence going one league by a broken road, but somewhat less rough [than the preceding one] certain men being employed daily in exploring the land, and the pioneers in the necessary tasks, we pitched camp on the bank of a small river containing much running water, which in its pools or eddies had trout and some other fish. For this reason the river was named the Río de las Truchas.

Fifth: From this river we traversed a long range for a two days' march northward, and descended to a stream having considerable current which flows eastward and then turns northward to join the Río de las Truchas, as we were given to understand. All the land along this day's march, and especially from this canyon on, is wooded on both sides with white-oaks and live-oaks of great height and girth. We found on the margin of this stream a village of nomads who were very poor, but who showed themselves obsequious and friendly. Sixth: At a distance of little more than a league there is a canyon in stony land covered with many trees of the two kinds which we have just mentioned.

Seventh: Traveling through this canyon in a northeasterly direction, one sees that it continues growing narrower little by little, and that the stony white hills which enclose it come almost together at last, leaving, however, a passage not at

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all difficult, whereby descent is afforded along an inconsiderable slope, to a river which the scouts thought might be the Carmelo. We camped on its bank on this day's journey, having made three leagues.

At the foot of the above-mentioned slope, we found a populous village of some two hundred nomads who lived in the open air without any shelter at all.

The margins of this river are wooded with willows, poplars, live-oaks, and other trees, and the whole plain that it waters is exceedingly luxuriant with foliage. The soil is of good quality, producing a variety of fragrant plants, among which abounded rosemary and sage; there are also many rose-bushes loaded with blossoms. The camp was called the Real del Chocolate.

Eighth: Now leaving the plain in order to continue over level unwooded ground near the hills which skirt the river on the north to where the cliffs turn toward the northwest, we took to the slope of those that lay to the right, proceeding over level ground without going very far from the river. Camp was pitched near some pools in a spot provided with pasture, which is not everywhere abundant here. Near us we had a beautiful poplar, from which this place took its name. The day's march was four leagues long.

Ninth: The best and most suitable road was by way of the valley of the river. It opened toward the northwest and gradually widened more and more as we followed the current drawing nearer to the coast. A day's march of four leagues was again made, the camp being pitched in the plain amid a clump of live-oaks. All the land at this place is whitish, wherefore the camp was called the Real Blanco.

State of the Missions

Within the territory comprised in these few marches, there is already the mission of San Antonio de los Robles, which was founded, in July of 1771, on the bank of a river which was named for the same saint. But, after a year and a half, finding that the water of the river was lacking, sinking into the sand, and leaving the stream entirely dry, the reverend fathers were obliged to move the mission half a league farther up, near a good stream named San Miguel. This stream lies in the midst of the Sierra de Santa Lucía, and is distant from the beach by half a day's journey in light marching order.

At the beginning of November of '73, I found that the reverend fathers had their little church and all the living quarters completed, of good *adobe*, and the roofs covered with slabs of mortar plastered with lime. There had been baptized, including young and old, one hundred and fifty-eight natives, of whom eight recently baptized had died; fifteen marriages had been contracted among the new Christians, and three cuirassiers had married Indian women of this class.

The guard of the presidio consists of seven men commanded by a corporal. The new Christians live together with the heathen in their village near the mission, housed in huts of poles and hay; others are being catechized and instructed in the mystery of our Holy Catholic Faith preparatory to baptism.

It is said that within a radius of seven leagues there must be twenty or more villages, without counting those in the direction of the presidio of Monterey, some of them right on the road. The land abounds in acorns and pine nuts, the mission being situated near a forest of white-oaks, live-oaks, and pine trees; the usual very savory and nourishing seeds are also harvested. Cotton-tails and squirrels are hunted, and in fact not so much want is suffered as in Monterey.

With the improvement of the place actual harvesting of corn has been realized, and it is expected that wheat will be gathered, as the arroyo contains, even in the driest season of the year, a large stream of water, which has been confined for taking

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out to irrigate with by a dam, made temporarily of loose stones, poles, and brushwood, until time and material are available to make it of lime and rocks. The water of the river may also be utilized for irrigation, as it does not dry out here just in front of the mission as it does below; it is also believed that not even the unirrigated wheat will fail to yield. There are places for cattle with suitable water supplies, and summer pastures in great abundance. The acorn provides lavishly for raising and fattening many hundred head of swine. Ordinary stone is found close at hand from which to obtain good building blocks, and there are also some lime quarries. Besides the pines, live-oaks, and white-oaks, there is here another kind of fine wood of the color of cedar.

Such was the actual state of the mission of San Antonio de los Robles two years ago, and I consider that it must today be very much improved, especially in regard to what is most important, the reduction of the natives and the spread of Christianity.

Natural and Political History

These Indians are well built, and the women are good looking, some of them being somewhat ruddy in color. They all have beautiful hair, are people of a good disposition, affable, and disposed to give all they have to the Spaniards. They govern themselves as will be told in the chapter on San Francisco. They are continually at war with their neighbors; for the purpose of going out on any of these expeditions, the men and women first gather to take counsel in the house of the captain in command, whence the soldiers set out for the engagement, bearing the proper orders. The affair is limited to setting fire to this or that village of the adversary, sacking it, and bringing away some of the women, either married or single.

It seemed to me worth while to notice the usages and customs which these natives observe in their marriages, and the reciprocal tokens which are given for the assurance of such a close alliance. The fact is that when a single man and a single woman are seen together at dawn savagely scratched, it is a sign that they have contracted matrimony during the night, and with this sole proof they are considered publicly and notoriously as man and wife by the entire village.

But there is still more to this: they never think of making legitimate use of the faculty permitted by marriage, without at the same time making use of the nails, repeating on such occasions the same cruel and barbarous expressions of love and conjugal affection. This will seem an incredible thing, perhaps without parallel so far as is known of other nations, however untaught and savage they may be. There is no doubt, however, that this happens, and I write it after exact verification of the fact.

The education of the boys consists in the man teaching them to manipulate the bow and arrow, and he makes them practice their lessons in the field, hunting squirrels, rabbits, rats, and other animals. The Indian woman takes the girls with her that they may learn how to gather seeds and become accustomed to carrying the baskets. In this group are usually included those who are called *joyas*, of whom we have made mention in other places.

Idolatry is greater and more insolent here than in the preceding localities, it being understood that this [part of the] narrative concerns a radius of twelve leagues around the mission of San Antonio. I say greater, on account of the variety and number of gods who are worshipped: they are the sun, the waters, acorns, and some kinds of seeds. Not content with this, they have raised to the dignity of gods certain old men of their villages in whom they make it manifest that they have placed the utmost confidence, for, while they offer them worship and various gifts, they pray to them for rain, for sunshine, good crops, etc.

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The true God provides these poor people for their sustenance three kinds of acorns, as well as other fruit like a red plum or cherry, from the seed or pit of which, with its surrounding substance, they make good *tamales*. They call it *Yslay*, and they eat the little meat which the pit contains. There is also much *pil* and *tecumá*, of which we shall speak farther on. There are madrones, and three kinds of *chia*, one of them [producing seeds] as large as lentils and the others smaller. There are many pine-nuts like those of Spain, and a kind of very small white seeds shaped like the eggs of lice; these seeds mixed with flour, make the tortillas smooth and agreeable to the taste, as though they had been kneaded with lard. Another yellow seed, like rice, abundant only when it rains a great deal, has a very sweet taste. The Indians prepare it as they do the others, roasting or toasting it to reduce it to flour, and make their soups and bread; but this rice cooked without other preparation is much like vermicelli, and smells a good deal. They have plenty of sugar and sugar-cakes (*melcocha*), concerning the preparation of which I will speak in following chapters.

The land animals here are like those in the former places—bears, deer, antelope, wild sheep, hare, conies, squirrels. Among the venomous animals are vipers, tarantulas, and scorpions of extraordinary size, but their sting is not proportionately powerful. Among the birds there are none lacking which have been mentioned in previous chapters, and besides them there are seen here quail, very blue ring-doves, turtle-doves, swallows, and calendar larks. In the fresh water there are large trout, and a kind of fish called *machuro*. Finally, the timber is the same as that mentioned above where the days' marches and the missions were discussed in the present chapter.

Article VI

From the Real Blanco to a Place without a Name in 36° 44′

First: Three and one-half leagues beyond the Real Blanco, going over country of the same character as that of the preceding march, although more abundant in pasture, we camped at a place near the river, which here flows more noisily and proudly. Many antelope were seen going by, and the place was named the Real de los Cazadores, for there were then round about it some Indians who were so absorbed and occupied in hunting game that they did not notice us until we were upon them, when, suddenly, they fled precipitately in spite of our efforts to convince them [that this was unnecessary].

Second: They [our explorers] went down-stream toward the northwest, another three and one half leagues, descending continuously and getting away from the hills that form the valley which, even at this place in sight of two low points which jut out from the hills, must be a matter of three leagues across. The land along this day's march is very slippery, and cut by crevices which cross in all directions. Even from this distance one hears the noise of the sea, although the beach is not visible.

Third: Thus we went another league down-stream in quest of the beach, and reached a place where we could get out to explore it, to ascertain whether the port of our destination did not exist here. Indeed, an examination and exploration of the beach was made, and, after comparing our observations with the information left in their charts by the ancient navigators of these seas, and after various conjectures and opinions were expressed, the resolution was taken to continue the march. For the latitude of this place was found to be only 36° 44′; whereas the parallel upon which Monterey is found according to Cabrera Bueno, ought to be exactly 37°. Hence, it being unlikely that an expert should make the remarkable error of a good quarter of a degree in determining the latitude, and the marks of the shore and coast not corresponding here to what is promised by the reports which served us as guides, it seemed that there was no other recourse left than to continue the journey. This was accordingly done without loss of time.

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Missions

Before going on to describe the mission of Carmel, the last of all those which belong to this chapter, I ought to explain to your Excellency that although on the first expedition, in the year 1769, continuing the marches from here to the great bay of San Francisco and leaving the port of Monterey behind, we went thirty-six and one-half leagues still farther, a distance which had to be traversed as it were by feeling our way, nevertheless, after the second journey, when there was opportunity to be better informed, I went myself with four cuirassiers, very practical men, and I found that, to go to San Francisco from this place, at which the narrative of the diarist concludes, there is a short cut which, aside from being advantageous in that it traverses more passible ground, saves a matter of ten leagues of the distance.

I also found another shortcut for avoiding the painful and arduous Sierra de Santa Lucía while coming from San Diego to Monterey, which shortened the road more than twenty leagues, and this was the least of the advantages to be gained, the other being that of not needing to enter a range where there are narrow gorges and precipices to be met capable of frightening even the wild beasts and mountain animals which live there. I omit the descriptions of both shortcuts, since they are very well known and understood by the people who live in the New Settlements, and will become more and more so from day to day, so that it need never be feared that at any future time any expedition of Spaniards will find itself in the perplexity and uncertainty in which we found ourselves through lack of exact information. The notable zeal and activity of your Excellency, from whose sagacity cannot be hidden how useful to the service of God and the King would be the advancement of the already established and frequent traffic in those remote conquests, assure us of the continuation of your wise measures, and also that the information already obtained or later to be acquired which may be useful in future, shall not perish in obscurity, from which it would be more difficult to recover it whenever it might be needed. The information most particularly appreciated by the sovereign piety of our lords the Catholic Kings of Spain is that which treats of the important establishment of missions.

The mission of San Carlos was, as originally established in June, 1770, founded near the Presidio de San Carlos de Monterey, until by order of his Excellency the Marquis de Croix, it was changed both in location and name, being transferred in the following year to a spot one league farther down, where it now stands, on the banks of the Carmel River.

The new church, the dwelling, and the offices within the stockade, were built of good cedar and cypress, with earthen roofs. But, it having been found that this kind of roof does not last, and that the rain leaks through, they were finishing by the end of November, 1773, another and a larger church. It was forty *varas* long and correspondingly wide, and was to be roofed with grass.

The reverend fathers had already baptized, counting great and small, one hundred and sixty-two natives; of these, eleven had died, and there had been twenty-six marriages. These twenty-six families, with the single persons and children, made a total of one hundred and fifty-one persons, who formed the camp contiguous to the stockade, where they had their small houses built after the manner of the country. Three volunteer soldiers of my company had married recently-baptized Indian women, and a servant had married another. The new Christians attend Mass and indoctrination regularly, and the natives of the neighboring villages are accustomed to frequent the mission in very orderly fashion. Only the residents of the village called *de los Zanjones*, six leagues distant toward San Diego, have been so bold as to

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attack post-riders and travelers, but they have been punished, not without its having cost the lives of a few highway robbers, though they have not been able, thank God, to kill any of our men.

The hill Indians also of the Sierra de Santa Lucía, who live between this mission and that of San Antonio de los Robles, persecute indiscriminately the new Christians and the unconverted Indians of this region whenever they enter the range to search for acorns, which the hill Indians guard and desire to keep for themselves alone. These unhappy people encounter the same resistance when they go along the beach above Monterey on the same quest, so that they are prevented from going far from this district.

The situation was the same before the foundation of the Presidio de San Carlos, according to their confession, and they were continually at war. It is even to be supposed that it was worse then, and that much warfare has been eliminated by the New Settlement, for it is very natural that those who now oppose the removal of the acorns which grow in their country should have been themselves the aggressors in their turn, coming to provoke these Indians, which they would still be doing today were it not for fear that our arms would aid those who are now our friends and so live in confidence and understanding with us. The same thing will come in time to pass with all these natives of Monterey when they shall be reduced and submit their necks to the yoke of the holy law of God through baptism.

As to the temporal affairs of this mission, the reverend fathers have attempted to cultivate the soil in the best way possible, and the situation was improved when the mission was moved to where it now is, in the vicinity of the camp. The planting of corn turned out well, and the same is hoped of the wheat, although all that is sown will always be exposed to the usual risks of excess or lack of rain, or of being sown out of season, since there is no means of taking irrigating water out of the river because the water flows deep in it and confined within a narrow bed. But God will be pleased to supply the needs of these unhappy people, for if they have to depend upon the mission for sustenance and the protection of a few clothes, their conversion will be an accomplished thing. For they undergo great hardship especially in winter, lacking even the few fish which during the remainder of the year they obtain more through its abundance than by their own industry, since they have neither nets nor canoes in which to go fishing, although those who belong to this mission are only two musket shots distant from the beach.

Natural and Political History

The natives of Monterey should be considered as divided into two parts for the purpose of dealing with their natural and political history, because the Indians of the port and its environs are not the same as the more remote ones, as for instance the hill tribes of Santa Lucía and other more distant villages. I shall therefore speak separately, first of those of Monterey and the surrounding region, and afterward I shall treat of the others, within a district of twenty leagues, excepting of course the territory included in the chapter immediately preceding, wherein the Indians of San Antonio were described, and it was stated that an area of twelve leagues around it was included, which statement is here iterated.

So that on this side the circuit of the twenty leagues assigned is limited to the observations which I am going to make in my chapter wherein I treat of the Indians who are remote from the mission of Carmelo.

The Indians of this mission and its environs are well proportioned in body, but they do not have the best faculties of mind, and they are of feeble spirit. This apparently is attributable to their condition and the kind of life they lead, always

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fearful and unable to retire or make excursions of more than four or five leagues from the port of the Punta de Pinos, lest they come into conflict with their opponents who resist and persecute them on all sides. They love the Spaniards very much, and recognize in them a shelter and protection of which they were in absolute need. Nearly all of them go naked, except a few who cover themselves with a small cloak of rabbit or hare skin, which does not fall below the waist. The women wear a short apron of red and white cords twisted and worked as closely as possible, which extends to the knee. Others use the green and dry *tule* interwoven, and complete their outfit with a deerskin half tanned or entirely untanned, to make wretched underskirts which scarcely serve to indicate the distinction of sex, or to cover their nakedness with sufficient modesty.

They are governed by independent captains, both those near the mission and those who are more remote within the territory mentioned. They are warlike, as are the Indians everywhere else, and they inter their dead where they fall, having no chosen spot for burial. When they desire a truce in any battle, or to show themselves peaceful upon any other occasion, they loosen the cords of their bows in order that their intention may be understood. If two of the natives quarrel with each other they stand body to body giving each other blows as best they can, using what might be called spatulas of bone, which they always carry for the purpose of scraping off their perspiration while in the bath and during the fatigue of their marches. But as soon as blood is drawn from either of the combatants, however little he may shed, the quarrel is forthwith stopped, and they become reconciled as friends, even when redress of the greatest injury is sought.

They do not have fixed places for their villages, but wander here and there wherever they can find provisions at hand. Their houses are badly constructed, consisting solely of a few boughs placed in a circular arrangement. Their marriages, as in San Antonio, are celebrated with the barbarous practice of scratching each other when they cohabitate, a foolish practice committed even by the newly converted and baptized, though the reverend fathers labor much with them in order to dissuade them from it. The dances and festivals are similar to those which have been explained in another chapter. They have a game which is frivolous enough but which has interest supplied by wagers; it is like this: An Indian takes any little thing and hides it in one hand; closing both hands, he holds them out to the other player, who must guess in which hand the object is. All this is accompanied by various postures and gestures, the players and spectators singing while the guessing is in progress. The gain or loss amounts to a quiver, a skin, a handful of seeds, or some such thing.

These Indians have a kind of bath although I do not know whether it deserves the name or not, which conforms in a way with the *temescales* which are found throughout the kingdom. They erect a hut of branches, stakes, and fagots, after the fashion of an oven, without any air passage whatever. The Indian gets into it, and others make a fire for him with small pieces of wood near the door, and the one who is inside receives a good scorching for an hour, during which he perspires copiously, scraping himself with the poniard or spatula mentioned above. This done, he comes out quickly, and goes to wash himself all over in cold water wherever he may first find it. They have a custom of repeating this alternation, the first bath being in the morning, the others being at midday and at night. The women do not use these baths.

I have already said that the seeds with which the Indians are accustomed to maintain themselves are here somewhat scarce. Those who are in this mission and nearby obtain few acorns, the lack of which they supply in part with blackberries and strawberries, which abound around the point of the Monte de Pinos; there are, many *boletes* or mushrooms, and another wild fruit about the size of an ordinary

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pear which is eaten roasted and boiled, though it is somewhat bitter. The tree which bears it is rather whitish, like a fig tree, but not very tall. When it bears fruit it sheds its leaves entirely. The cones of the pine-tree are small, and the nuts are extremely so, but very good and pleasing to the taste. The method of gathering them is to build a fire at the foot of the pine-tree, which in a few hours falls to the ground, making the fruit available without difficulty.

As to land animals, there is nothing special which has not been spoken of in other chapters, not even among the poisonous ones. Among the birds is observed a very fleshy one with white head, neck, and feet, and black elsewhere; it is a bird of prey, and attacks the sea-fowls when they carry some little fish, for the purpose of depriving them of their prey. In the sea there are seen from time to time a few whales and seals, and there are many sardines of all sizes, especially in the months of June, July and August, when they are pursued by those great beasts. There are not lacking other fish of the species already mentioned.

Speaking now of the natives who are remote from the district: It is first to be noted that those of the Valle de San Francisco are the ones who have the most culture and are least savage. They have their hemispherical houses of about four yards diameter, and live very sociably, fixing their residences in large villages which, since they become infested with fleas in the spring time, they abandon for the purpose of passing this uncomfortable season in little brush houses which they construct at a short distance from their villages.

They are provided with many and various seeds for their sustenance; and they do not lack any kind of birds and land animals nor timber which have been mentioned in connection with other places. Here are seen some trees so large that eight men all holding hands could not span one of them. It is not known to what species they belong, but they have been called *sabinos* on account of their enormous, gigantic size.

The Indians who live in the direction of the Punta de Año Nuevo, eight leagues inland and about twelve leagues from this royal presidio, are of good features, their skin is not so dark, and they wear long moustaches. They are very clever at going out to fish embarked on rafts of reeds, and they succeed, during good weather, in getting their provisions from the sea, especially since the land also provides them with abundance of seeds and fruits which have been mentioned a little above, although the harvesting of them and their enjoyment is disputed with bow and arrow among these natives and their neighbors, who live almost constantly at war with each other.

All those remote from Monterey within the bounds of the twenty leagues which have been indicated, have for their god the sun, to whom they offered, with gesticulations and ceremonies, all that we gave them, and they are accustomed to make various demonstrations of joy every day before this planet rises, while yet the dawning of the morning is announcing his coming. They believe in the transmigration of souls, asserting that those of the dead go to live in a certain island in the sea, from whence they come to enter the bodies of those who are born. Their dead they inter in places like regular cemeteries, with the exception of those who die in war, for the latter are eaten by the relatives of the slayer.

Last Number

[VII]

Concerning the People of the Plain, and the Río Grande de San Francisco and Its Environs

It having seemed to me suitable to omit from this chapter the corresponding entries from the diary of the land journey, inasmuch as the road which leads from

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Monterey to San Francisco is now different, and as there is no mission farther to the north than that of Carmelo, it now remains only to relate the historical narrative concerning these natives, in the recounting of which I will follow the plan of reducing the subject matter to certain headings in order to place my observations in good order, first setting down those which I have made concerning the immense bays and great river of San Francisco.

This natural feature, which has its origin in some snow-clad mountains lying to the north, coming later to unite with three or four very large streams, runs southeast for one hundred and twenty to one hundred and thirty leagues, when, making a basin with various windings, it takes a turn and runs about another one hundred leagues, to disembogue again on the north in a northern body of water which communicates with the bay of San Francisco, there being between the point of its disemboguement and the entrance to the said bay a distance of twelve to fourteen leagues. In this great bay there have been seen whales, and there are numerous islands in it, which are rocky and covered with trees.

Toward the sea there is another range, from the foot of which another estuary runs northeastward from the mouth of the river; it is so long that though I climbed the highest hill which I could, I was not able to see the end of it on a clear bright day. So it is not known whether it terminates inland or has finally another outlet to the sea, in which latter case the range spoken of would be an island. The river varies in width at different places; the greatest width which I have seen is perhaps half a league, and the smallest about a quarter of a league. And its depth is so great that, at twelve leagues from its mouth, where it is not confined within narrow limits, I was not able to measure the height of its bank with a pole more than ten yards long.

The plain of San Francisco extends from the mouth of the river to a village named Buenavista near the Portezuelo de Cortés, where there are many grapevines; it is about one hundred and sixty leagues long and from twenty to thirty leagues wide. In it there are numerous reed-patches and ponds, and it is very fertile. The natives, who live in spherical houses, are accustomed, in order to avoid the inconvenience attendant upon the rains when they are very heavy, to move to drier land during the wet season; when this has passed they return to their dwellings. The slope of the sierra which lies toward Monterey is rather bare of trees, but abounds in seeds, and there are numerous villages near its streams. The range where it extends inland from the other side of the river, is very high, and its peaks are always covered with snow. On its slopes there are many trees of great variety growing in good soil; there are wild buffaloes living in the depths of this forest.

The Costume of the Indians

The captains wear their cloaks adorned with feathers, and a great coiffure of false hair folded back upon their own. The common Indians wear a small cloak which reaches to the waist; in their hair they interweave cords or bands with beads, among the folds of which they bestow the trifles which they need to carry with them. The most common of these small articles is a small horn of the antelope containing tobacco for smoking, wrapped in leaves. They gather great harvests of this plant, and grind large quantities of it mixed with lime, from this paste forming cones or small loaves which they wrap in *tule* leaves and hang up in the house until quite dry. They assert that as a food it is very strengthening, and that they can sustain themselves on it for three days without other nourishment; they usually partake of it at supper.

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The arrangement of their villages is like a chain, not continuous, however, but broken, and in front of their dwellings they erect storehouses or barns in which to keep their seeds, implements, etc.

They have stone mortars very like the *metates* of this kingdom, jars of the same material, and trays of all sizes made of wood or reeds artistically decorated with fibrous roots of grass which always keep their natural color, which is variable according to the species.

They sleep upon skins of animals, and cover themselves with other skins.

The figure and form of these Indians is graceful; both men and women are taller than ordinary. The men have the custom of smearing their heads in the form of a cross (the efficacy and mysteries of which are yet unknown to them) with white mud. The women observe in their dress the styles of San Luis Obispo, but with greater neatness and decency; they have also the fashion of wearing the hair in a toupé with a braid.

Their Government and Economics

Besides their chiefs of villages, they have in every district another one who commands four or five villages together, the village chiefs being his subordinates.

Each of them collects every day in his village the tributes which the Indians pay him in seeds, fruits, game and fish. If a robbery is committed, complaint is made to the captain, who holds a council of all the Indians to deliberate concerning the punishment and reparation due. If the theft was of some eatable or some utensil, as is usually the case, the entire punishment inflicted upon the robber is the return of the object stolen or its equivalent. But if the theft is that of a virgin, whom the robber has ravished, they must inevitably marry; the same practice is observed in the case of a simple rape which may occur without abduction. It is to be noted that here no one has more than one wife.

The subordinate captain is under obligation to give his commander notice of every item of news or occurrence, and to send him all offenders under proper restraint, that he may reprimand them and hold them responsible for their crimes. During such an act the culprit, whether man or woman, remains standing with disheveled hair hanging down over the face.

Everything that is collected as the daily contribution of the villages is turned over to the commanding captain of the district, who goes forth every week or two to visit his territory. The villages receive him ceremoniously, make gifts to him of the best and most valuable things they have, and they assign certain ones to be his followers and accompany him to the place where he resides.

They have two meals within the course of the natural day, one before dawn which lasts an hour more or less, and another in mid-afternoon which lasts for the space of four hours. When it is finished they set themselves to smoking tobacco, one after the other, from a great stone pipe. If there is to be a dance in celebration of a wedding or a feast, they dance until dawn, or, if they stop sooner, they set alert watchmen in the customary places, who give signals between themselves and for the entire village, by whistling or by strumming the cords of their bows, thereby giving notice that the enemy is approaching, that a house is burning, or that there is some other accident during the silence of the night.

Marriages and Games

The friends and relatives of those who have been married gather together from various villages, each one bringing his small gift for the new couple, and also his supply of food for the three or four days during which the festivities are to last, and other things ready to barter or exchange for what they need. They eat and dance and

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sing joyously during the days of festivity, and, when these have passed, every one returns to his own house. The games they play on these and other occasions are of three different kinds, as follows:

One, which is participated in by women only, is like this: Many of them being seated in a circle, they take a large basket or reed tray beautifully decorated, into which they put a number of snail-shells filled with tar (*chapopote*). These are cast from the hand by the one who plays, who rubs them all so that they may fall with the mouth down, against the bottom of the tray, in order that they may roll. The game is decided by the number of shells which stop mouth up, whether they are fewer, an equal number, or more than those which stop mouth down. The turn passes to another when one loses. Thus the play goes round from hand to hand in turn, each one wagering some little article appropriate to woman's use.

The men, who like to divert themselves without fatigue, play another game no less sedentary and quiet than that of the women. They put a wooden tube, three spans long and one in width, on a very level, clean floor which they make smooth by covering it with fine sand. They then take ten sticks of the same length and shape, each one marked on one face only with a certain sign made with crossed lines. The player throws them toward the tube all at one time so that they may fall upon the floor. If they all fall with the mark outward, the player has won; if not, he is followed by another until the shot is made.

Finally, there are other games that they play which give good exercise, depending not at all upon chance, but contributing entirely to dexterity or industry. [They prepare] a quadrilateral space, very level and smooth, and ten yards long with a width sufficient so that two Indians may run in it side by side, the whole place being inclosed with a hedge of branches and grass a little over a span in height. Into [this enclosure] two players enter, one on each side, face to face, each of them carrying in his hand a stake four yards long, ending in a good point. One of the Indians throws up a little wheel made of strong straps fastened together so as to leave in the center a hole about the size of a *real* (the size of a dime); they both instantly hurl their stakes, measuring the shot so as to catch the wheel or thread it upon the stake before it falls to the ground. He who first does this, or who does it oftenest, overcomes his adversary, and wins the game.

Birds and Land Animals

There are large and small white geese called Castilian, which weigh from eight to ten pounds; there are also black ones, and brown ones both light and dark in color. These latter are the best, for some of them weigh up to fifteen pounds. There are many freshwater ruffed grouse, from which the Indians take the skins, feathers and all, with which to make their cloaks. There are many ducks, swallows, cranes, and white pelicans, larger than the geese of Castile, the feathery skins of which the Indians use to wrap their babies in, for the skins are as large as those of moderate-sized lambs, and very soft. There are multitudes of ash-colored quail with red feet; the males have black crests. They are more savory than those of Spain, and a good deal larger. There are countless small birds, such as swallows, calendar larks, etc. Eagles are seen which measure fifteen spans from tip to tip, the shaft of their feathers being as large as the largest finger of the hand. The natives raise some eaglets in their villages, and succeed in domesticating these birds, but they do not eat them.

Among the land animals there are many antelope, which is a kind of mountain goat; and is very good to eat. In the mountains are wild sheep, which are also eaten, and entire herds of elks. These animals are a kind of deer, their heads being furnished with branching horns with many prongs. The skin is of a lustrous sunflower

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shade, and the glossy hair is about two inches long. The male has a beard like a he-goat; the tail is white, about a handbreadth long, and very plump. These animals utter shrill whistling sounds; they are as large as cattle, and their flesh is of very good flavor. There are also deer of the ordinary kind, and across the river there are buffaloes, bears, wildcats, wolves, squirrels, coyotes, ferrets, and foxes. In the Sierra de Santa Lucía there are some panthers.

Speaking of fish, since it is unnecessary to treat of them separately in another article, I will say briefly that there is abundance of all species here in this sea. Seals and otters occur as far as one hundred and fifty leagues upstream in the Río de San Faancisco.

Seeds, Fruits, and Other Products of the Vegetable Kingdom

Mention should first be made of rice, which occurs in three or four different species; distinguishing them by color, they are yellow, whitish, blue and black. The latter variety has a pasty color beneath its bark or pellicle. All three kinds are of good quality and flavor, and produce in this country three times as much as Spanish rice produces. The pine-nut is rich and very oily; it can be hulled with the hand on account of the softness of its shell. There is yet another variety which is smaller, very fine, and of better flavor, though it does not contain so much oil. In the vicinity of the Río de San Francisco are seen chestnuts which are as good as those found anywhere.

The acorns of all three species of oak, the live-oak (*quercus ilex*), oak (*quercus robur*), and the cork-tree, are all used to make *atole* (gruel) and *pinole* (parched meal); the acorns are treated in this manner: After they have been skinned and dried in the sun, they are beaten in stone mortars similar to *almireces* (brass mortars for kitchen use), until they are reduced to powder or flour. This is mixed with a suitable quantity of water in close woven baskets, washed repeatedly, and the sediment or coarse flour allowed to settle. This done, it is now put on the sand and sprinkled with more water until the mass begins to harden and break up, and become filled with cracks. It is now ready to eat, uncooked, and is called *pinole* or bread. A part may be boiled in a suitable quantity of water, when it is called *atole* or gruel.

They have a kind of wild bastard onion, which when uncooked can be substituted for soap for washing woolen clothes; when, roasted, it can be eaten. I doubt not that it is the *amolli* (soap-root) of the Mexicans. There is another onion called *cacomistli* which has a very good flavor like that of the sweet potato (*camote*), and still another which is the root of a tuberous grass about like a head of garlic, which is good to eat without any preparation; it is called *capulin*.

There is another kind of rice similar to turnip seed, the plant of which is like the wild amaranth, which is found commonly in the canyons of the mountains. There is also a grass seed having a stalk like wheat, which, when sufficiently compressed, yields a rich flour, being of the oleaginous variety. These natives also eat laurel berries toasted; they are bitter, like kidney-beans, with a little oil. The seed of the cat-tail reed is utilized for making *pinole* of a chocolate color; the roots yield flour for *marchpanes* (*mazapanes*) which are of sweet flavor, and finally from the flower in season they make another *pinole*, yellow, and sweet as curds. The *tecsuma* is a flower similar to the rose of Castile, which grows on a shrub three spans high; on its stalks or stems grow berries like little buttons from the middle of the plant upward. Fire is set at the foot to make the buttons eject a very oily seed, called *pil*, from which another substantially nourishing flour is made.

There is a kind of shrub like the Mexican *texocote*, from the fruit of which a very refreshing drink, somewhat acid like the tamarind, is made by soaking the pulp

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in water. Another fruit grows in racimes, the berries of which are about the size of chick-peas, which is like the spiny *manzanillo* of Spain. Roasted in hot ashes, it tastes very good to the Indians, and even to the Spaniards.

The juice of the reed grass (*carriso*) is obtained, after it has been harvested in season, by exposure to the sun for four or five days, when it can be shaken from the leaves, coagulated and dried, falling like the manna of the apothecary shops.

Native sugar is made from the olive-like fruit produced by a very leafy, tufted shrub six feet high with a stem of reddish color and leaves like those of the mangrove. The preparation of the sugar is so simple that it consists in gathering the ripe fruit, separating the pulp from the seed, and pressing it in baskets to make cakes of sugar when dry and of a good consistency.

To omit nothing that is observed in these regions, I will say that there are two kinds of plants from which the natives obtain thread sufficiently strong for their needs. One of them grows in moist soil, and is very much like true hemp, at least I take it to be so, and the other grows on dry ground, and has leaves like the walnut, ashy colored and downy, with a white flower. When the flower falls, it is time to utilize the plant. Neither of these plants grows to a height of more than three or four spans.

Mexico, November 20, 1775.

"This is a copy of the original, appearing in Volume IV of manuscripts relating to the missions of California."

Mexico, January 31, 1910.

[*A transcript from the Archivo General de Indias, Estante* 104, *Cajon* 6, *Legajo* 17, *contains the following list of words which is omitted from the transcript from the Museo Nacional, Mexico.*]

Finally, I will put here in alphabetical order more than seventy Indian words, the meaning of which I understand very well; I learned them among the natives of the mission of San Luis and twenty leagues round about there. They are as follows:

[The forms printed in brackets are those which appear in *Nouvelles annales des Voyages et des sciences géographiques*, Quatrième serie, cinquième année, tome premier [Paris, 1844, pp. 345-7].—*Editor's Note.*

Anejueso [Anajuesu]	A buckle, and anything made of iron.
Ascamaps [Ascamape]	Salt.
Asnudo [Asnunc]	Let us go for seeds.
Astu	Water.
Chaá	The teeth.
Chapé *or* Aspu	The earth.
Chele [Chete]	The tongue.
Chilipi	The skull.
China	The road.
Chilpiu	The clouds.
Chocono	The deer.
Cuscaxa [Cuxcaxa] *or* Ascamaps [Ciscamapi]	Noon.
Cusnatach	The sun has set.
Custoso *or* Luni	The daughter.
El Texo	Let us go to sleep.
Exetechs	All kinds of clothing.
Jamac *or* Ascuma	The sky.
Lapsú [omitted]	The hide (*cotón*) of a wolf.
Limi	Village.

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Lucsi	It has dawned.
Lucsimu	The star.
Lune	A nursing child.
Masnax	The march.
Maxoch	To sleep.
Mil [omitted]	Shells.
Misleu	The arrow.
Misua [Misna]	Son.
Misuyo	Woman.
Miteme	The feet.
Mixacap [Mixacach]	The finger-nails.
Moculten	To eat.
Nesmono	Boy.
Nipu	The fingers.
Nistapi	What is it called?
Paach *or* Maach	The weapon.
Peteche	The eyes.
Petit *or* Pitsmu	The head.
Pex *or* Meex	The mouth.
Pichiu *or* Miecau	The breast.
Piiassi *or* Mixo [Pijawi]	The hair (tresses).
Pismu [omitted]	The tar (*brea*) *chapopote*.
Pocul	The nose.
Quexaquiex	The chin.
Sactasi	The handkerchief.
Sornilap	Large house.
Scsu	The moustache.
Suxuxu [omitted]	Wooden tray.
Taa	The oak (*quercus robur*).
Taach	The bow.
Tacua	The moon.
Taxamin [Tajamin]	The flint.
Tamacsuma	The tray with which women cover themselves.
Tames [Tame]	The shoes.
Tasquin	The reed tray.
Tassiqueu [Tavique, sister]	The sisters.
Tepú	The salt.
Texep	The stone.
Texssu [Texsu]	The alder-tree.
Tiesuni [Ticsuni]	The hide (*cotón*) of the rabbit.
Timix	The branches.
Tissi [Tivi]	The brother.
Tixu	The large man.
Tlasicuyo [Tlavicuyo]	The tender (little) girl.
Tlaxpil	The cord.
Tarcom [Torcom]	The wildcat.
Tuxusqui	The bear.
Tupxononoque	Come here.
Tuquelequeytai [Tuquelequeytu]	Let us go to hunt.
Tussu [Tuvu] *or* Mogomel	The knee.
Tuxugo	The firewood.

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These, your Excellency, are the notes which I have the honor to present to you I shall certainly be happy if, in the labors attendant upon my long wanderings and residence in those far-away lands and in the account which I give of them, anything is included which may redound to the honor and glory of God, the faithful service of our master the king, and the benefit of the Spanish nation, ever unconquered, and ever attentive to making happy those subjects whom it holds as vassals to its august monarch in its glorious conquest.

Mexico, November 20, 1775.

PEDRO FAGES (Rubric).

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BOOK REVIEWS

A History of the United States Since the Civil War. By Ellis Paxson Oberholtzer. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1917. Pp. 579. Price $3.50.

The multitude of important events which fill the period to be covered by the proposed work of Dr. Oberholtzer has never been adequately treated. The worth of this volume, the first of six which are to discuss the major happenings since the close of the war for Southern independence, suggests the hope that no accident may interrupt the regular appearance of the remaining sections. This deals with the troubled years from 1865–1868, a few brief seasons, but nevertheless an interval filled with controversy and crowded with instruction It includes the events from the collapse of the Confederate States to the purchase of Alaska.

At the outset the author describes the great American tragedy, the assassination of Abraham Lincoln with which was bound up the succession of Andrew Johnson to the Presidency. Perhaps for the latter that was a moment of almost perfect happiness in which at the Kirkwood House he took the oath of office. It is certain that from his view the book of fate was concealed. If his eye could have pierced the future, even his acknowledged moral and physical courage might have hesitated to accept this latest gift of fortune. His sunny hours were few. Until he laid down the cares of office, nearly four years later, he was oppressed with responsibility and was harassed by strife. Care waited on his uprisings as well as his down-sittings and doubtless presided in his dreams. The author does not attempt to portray the unnumbered woes of President Johnson, but by a succession of touches the reader is convinced that, notwithstanding the rather obvious limitations of the President, the unending attacks upon his official acts were instigated by feelings more often vindictive than patriotic. The ferocious spirit of many opposition speeches and the rancorous verse of the fluent scribblers of the press show with photographic fidelity the madness of the time. Cynicism, and libel, and slander were chief among the evil spirits that ruled the hour.

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The first impressions of the new President, his attitude toward the recent enemies of the United States, and his endeavor to continue Lincoln's system of reconstruction are the principal themes of the first chapter. This is logically followed by an outline of the task which confronted Johnson, namely, a revival of the prostrate South. Amongst other things this part of the narrative deals, by way of suggestion, with a description of the destruction of its former industrial system, the waste of war, the interruption of agriculture, the disappearance of commerce, and the worthless currency of the Confederacy.

It is well known that in the work of reconstruction President Johnson had been exceedingly active between May 29, 1865, and the meeting of the Thirty-ninth Congress in December following. At that time there were waiting, in Washington, Senators and Representatives from nearly all the late seceding States. They had been sent to the national capital by the States reorganized under the guidance of President Johnson, who appears to have had little doubt that they would be admitted to seats in Congress. In this expectation he was disappointed, for instead of admitting the Southern delegations that body appointed a joint committee of fifteen (nine Representatives and six Senators), instructed to inquire into the condition of the commonwealths of the late Confederacy and ascertain whether any of them were entitled to representation in Congress. The conclusion of this celebrated committee was to admit the delegation from Tennessee, restored under Lincoln's method, to suggest measures of reconstruction, and an amendment to the Constitution (the fourteenth). Soon afterward the work of restoring the Southern States to their normal relations in the Union was taken from the hands of the President and assumed by the Congress. Mr. Johnson, indeed, made a spirited exercise of his veto power, but he was quite unequal to a contest with the legislative branch, many of whose members were unprincipled in their opposition to his policy and who, though devoted partisans, appear to have been of doubtful patriotism.

In the following section, "Congress in Control," the author discusses the beginnings of legislative reconstruction. This comprehends a summary of Southern politics, an enumeration of the petitions for executive clemency, the popularity in the

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South of ex-Confederate candidates for office, Southern legislation relative to the negro, and the subject of negro suffrage; also the continuation of the Freedmen's Bureau, the "conquered province" theory of Thaddeus Stevens, and the vetoes of the President. These themes are concisely, fairly, and ably treated by the author.

Having made a survey of the South in the years immediately after the war, Dr. Oberholtzer presents to his readers a description of conditions in the victorious North. This chapter treats of money and prices, of industrial activity, to which was closely related the extension of railway lines and the laying of the Atlantic cable. The influence of its successful operation is also noticed. There is likewise a sketch of American shipping and of the trade with the Orient as well as the navigation of our interior waterways. The development and the resources of the prairie States are described and the extraordinary growth of Western cities such as Chicago impressively told. This part of the narrative enumerates important discoveries, useful inventions, and describes immigration, at that time chiefly from Ireland and Germany. This part of the book contains an animated description of the large-scale production of petroleum, mention of its many uses, and a suggestion of the reckless speculation which it stimulated. The fantastic dress of women, extravagant living, social splendor, and the rise of summer resorts are deemed worthy of notice. Accounts of fraud, peculation, and defalcation complete this chapter and show that the golden age was a period somewhat earlier than the middle sixties.

The following section considers the trans-Mississippi region, the public domain, and the operation of the Homestead Act; also the mining territories, which include Utah and a brief sketch of the Mormons. The author states that "Perhaps not one in four of the Mormons was a polygamist, but plural marriage was openly defended, as it had been from the beginning, by the leaders of the strange sect." The reviewer, however, is of the opinion that Mormonism was not polygamous at the outset and did not become so until it had attained to prosperity. After a visit to Washington, in 1844, the prophet, Joseph Smith, returned to Nauvoo and announced himself as a candidate for the Presidency. It was then that he taught the doctrine of spiritual

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wives, chartered sisters of charity, and Cyprian saints. When he began to practice his new principles, there was a secession of many older members, who immediately began the publication of the *Nauvoo Expositor*. It was the destruction of its press by the Mormons that led to the interference of the gentiles of Carthage and the murder in the jail of that town of the prophet and his brother Hyrum. The routes of western travel as well as the modes and their countless perils are also described. The construction of the first railway to the Pacific coast and accounts of all the chief incidents of that enterprise belong to this period. Chinese laborers, "road agents," and "vigilantes" appear at this point in the narrative.

It is not easy in any outline history of the country between the Mississippi and the Pacific to omit a consideration of the native races. A well written chapter treats many phases of the Indian question. But on the whole it is not a record of which an American would care to boast. Perhaps the management of Indian affairs since the Civil War may fairly be rated as the most insignificant of our achievements. The author isolates his subject and examines it as if Americans were lonely dwellers on our planet. Doubtless he feels that it is not in harmony with his plan to sound the depths and shoals of the Indian controversy; also that his task was merely to present a glimpse of the ancient race as they swept by his restricted chronological zone. Some readers will regret, from the instalment which he has given, that the author did not contrast our treatment of the aboriginal races with that of the Dominion Government, the earlier British, the French Canadian or the Latin-American governments. Moreover, there has been at home missionary endeavor not unworthy of notice. Of this nothing has been said. The comparative method is always instructive, in fact, in many activities it is the beginning of learning.

The war upon the President is the appropriate title of one of Dr. Oberholtzer's concluding chapters; it comprehends a multitude of topics more or less intimately related to the main theme. Race riots, political conventions, martial law, presidential egotism, presidential oratory, presidential peculiarities and presidential policies dance through these interesting pages. Rowdy stump speakers contributed to heighten the animosities of

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a ruffianly campaign. This battle had gone against the President. Thaddeus Stevens frequently appears at this stage and was in fact the presiding spirit. The activity of Representative Ashley, the impeachment of President Johnson, the attack of Congress on the Supreme Court, Congressional usurpation, the harsh treatment of Jefferson Davis and other subjects of intrinsic interest make up an important chapter.

Accounts of Mexico, Ireland, and Alaska, countries which have little in common, complete the present volume, which examines an extremely important part of our *post bellum* history, namely, the first stage of congressional reconstruction. Basing one's narrative on different facts, it would be possible to write a fairer account of Fenianism.

This work is based upon biographies, newspaper articles, diaries, monographs, public records, reminiscences, speeches, judicial decisions, histories, narratives of travel, etc. All have been carefully examined and used intelligently. The statesman will find in this book much that is instructive, while the reader who seeks entertainment will not be disappointed. But it is particularly valuable to the student of American institutional history.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

A Grammar of English Heraldry. By W. H. St. John Hope. Cambridge University Press, 1913.

This handbook on one of the auxiliary sciences of history is published in the series of "Cambridge Manuals of Science and Literature," and gives in the compass of 120 pages the main facts of English Heraldry. After a brief introductory chapter, the author gives a full description of the heraldic charges in a chapter entitled "The Grammar of Heraldry," notwithstanding the fact that the whole book, which covers a much wider field, is called by the same name. The next chapter is devoted to heraldic fields other than the shield, which would seem too much attention paid to a minor point, while two further chapters deal with the differencing of arms and heraldic accessories. The largest part of the book is taken up by an historical sketch of English Heraldry, special emphasis being placed on the Rolls of Arms, and the period of the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries.

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The chapter on "Heraldic Nomenclature" is used as a repository for miscellaneous information, and the concluding chapter on "Further Study of Heraldry" should have been used to give a good, if brief bibliography, instead of the very unsatisfactory references. If, on the whole, the book is one through which the uninitiated may become easily acquainted with heraldry, it has, as a manual, one very serious fault, that of being polemical. Heraldry as it was and should be, rather than as it is, is the thesis of the book. There is no question but that English heraldry is in sore need of reform, a reform which undoubtedly lies in a return to the older conditions when English heraldry was more simple, and the peculiarly national traits had not yet obscured the fundamental elements, common, in the earlier stages, to the heraldry of all countries. There is certainly great merit in advocating such a reform, and no one would be better qualified than a student of ancient heraldry, but such proposals for reform should be set forth in a special book rather than in a manual. The student who consults a manual wants a concise statement of fundamental facts, and is not interested in controversies. Nevertheless a brief chapter on the reform of Heraldry would have been justified, but there is no excuse for scattering the matter throughout the book, and utilizing the chapter on "Heraldic nomenclature," for which there is really no need at all, for the advocating of reforms.

Mention must also be made of the illustrations, which are of two kinds. The cuts showing the heraldic charges "have been drawn in outline so that students may color them for themselves" although many would prefer that the publisher should have done it. The second type is derived from photographs, and show, for the most part, seals. These illustrations are especially unsatisfactory, as they lack clearness, it being impossible to decipher the legend on a single seal, and even the heraldic bearings are not always sufficiently distinct. In this respect the old-fashioned drawing was much more satisfactory, as the greater subjectivity, as contrasted with the photograph, tended to bring out such devices and inscriptions more clearly.

Barring these defects, which arise mostly out of what seems to me a misconception of the nature of a manual, the book deserves praise for its high scholarly character, which makes it

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one every historian will find useful and which he will be glad to consult. The author also deserves praise for the clear manner in which he has treated this subject otherwise so obscure.

HILMAR H. WEBER.

Uncollected Letters of Abraham Lincoln. Now first brought together by Gilbert A. Tracy. Boston and New York: Houghton, Mifflin Company. The Riverside Press of Cambridge, 1917. Pp. 264. Price $2.50 net.

To assemble the letters brought together in this volume required intelligence, industry, and affection. Doubtless Mr. Tracy was delighted with his theme, and, we may inquire, who would not have been? He found his labors agreeable, though he discovered one citizen who had no practical sympathy with even this interesting inquiry. Thrice fortunate must be the investigator, and of address surpassing the celestial, who does not sometimes come upon traces of the boor, for the species has not perished from the earth; a few still wander about our forlorn world. Objects exceedingly bright or conspicuously elevated will oftentimes save insignificance from oblivion. It is probable that "the fool that fired the Ephesian dome," being linked with a goddess chaste and fair, will be remembered as long as Diana herself. For fame an act needs no intrinsic merit if only it chance to be even distantly connected with excellence. Thus in certain circumstances our very limitations may assume a vicarious splendor.

Any book which contributes even slightly to improve our estimate of so distinguished a character as Abraham Lincoln is certain to be welcomed by all readers of American history. Even though a new book about the first of the martyr Presidents contain little that is important, if it only confirm hesitant conclusions concerning some of the minor phases of his remarkable career, it is not without value. The activity of biographers and historians has made President Lincoln better known to American citizens of to-day than he was known, outside of Illinois, to the generation that fought the Civil War.

Of the great President we catch in these notes and letters many glimpses as he toiled upward toward national renown. We see him gracefully and cordially introducing a friend, soliciting

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a service for an organization or a community, or furnishing a hint to a fellow Whig; we come upon new proof of his moderate charges for legal advice and a naive announcement of an event in his life which was extremely interesting. To an intimate friend he thus describes it: "Nothing new here, except my marrying, which to me, is matter of profound wonder."

He disclaims any personal indifference to a nomination for Congress, to which in the course of a few years he was elected. From the beginning Lincoln was a master of vigorous, if not elegant expression. In commending Mr. Isaac S. Button he pithily describes his friend as "a trustworthy man and one whom the Lord made on purpose for such business." Another letter of Mr. Tracy's collection shows us an honorable rival for party honors. "Let nothing be said against Mr. Hardin," he cautions a correspondent, and he adds, "nothing deserves to be said against him." If the value of Lincoln's services to the Whig party did not equal those of General Hardin he would *scorn* the nomination "on *any* and *all* other grounds." In other letters may be seen the wise leader who enjoins tranquillity on the members of his uneasy organization; also the man who is never too busy to perform little acts of kindness. After shrewdly forecasting General Taylor's nomination, he modestly adds in a letter to a friend, "you know I can have no intimacy with the President, which might give me a personal influence over him." Practising his principle of "turn about," he clearly stated on a later occasion that he was not a candidate for reëlection. While at the National Capital, he did not forget those whose support had sent him thither, but he never pretended to them to enjoy an influence which he did not possess.

The good Samaritan appears in this brief but characteristic note. "Take care of this boy until tomorrow, or longer if the weather is bad, and send the bill to me." As early as November, 1854, Lincoln was thinking of the United States Senate. As is well known, it was in the effort to gain in Illinois a legislature favorable to his ambition that made him a national character. As he foresaw, he lost the Senate, but in 1860 won the Presidency. Perfect fairness, a master passion of Lincoln, appears in a letter to Owen Lovejoy. He wrote: "Know-Nothingism has not yet entirely tumbled to pieces. . . . About us here, they [the Know-Nothings] are mostly my old political and personal friends,

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and I have hoped this organization would die out without the painful necessity of my taking an open stand against them. Of their principles I think little better than I do of those of the slavery extensionists. Indeed I do not perceive how any one, professing to be sensitive to the wrongs of the negro, can join in a league to degrade a class of white men." In harmony with this principle is the note of gratitude shown in a letter to Mrs. Armstrong, who was kind to him in adversity and whose husband had been equally so.

The scope of these letters, of which not a few refer to Lincoln's law business, is considerable, but in all there is evidence of those characteristics which marked the mature statesman. This contribution to Lincoln literature, though not extremely valuable, is nevertheless entitled to respectful consideration. Without it there will be gaps in one's knowledge of the great war President and of his times.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

The Book of The High Romance—A Spiritual Autobiography by Michael Williams. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918. Pp. 350. Price $1.60.

This is the story of one who gave up Catholicism and wandered hither and thither in response to spiritual impulses which finally found satisfaction only in the Church. Under the guidance of The Little Flower the author has come home again.

American Catholic confessional literature is generally a bald, matter of fact account of conversion. By contrast Mr. Williams' book is unique in this country. It is literature, though as a piece of writing its very spontaneity gives it certain faults. It is apologetics, and though it is free from the precisions of theology, no personal narrative need forfeit validity for that reason. The historically-minded will welcome a description of some of the outstanding forces of radical anti-Christian intellectualism in America. And they will also see in microcosm the post-Reformation world of thought and feeling, though Mr. Williams does not put himself forward as a parable of the universe.

But it is as "High Romance," a sincere "spiritual autobiography," that the book, thus accurately entitled, will make the greatest of its many appeals.

JOSEPH EGAN.

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The Aftermath of the Civil War, in Arkansas. By Powell Clayton, Governor of Arkansas, 1868–1871. New York: The Neale Publishing Company, 1915. Pp. 378.

A multitude of works discuss the attempts of President Lincoln and of President Johnson to restore the seceding States to their normal relations in the Union and of Congress to apply to those commonwealths its system of reconstruction. From the usual presentation of this subject a Northern sympathizer, even one who has been accustomed to act with the Republican organization, can hardly avoid the conclusion that Congress blundered lamentably in the endeavor to administer its measures. In fact, he is likely to be persuaded that the orgies which marked legislative reconstruction form the only blot on the fair Republican escutcheon. The "conquered province" theory of Thaddeus Stevens and the "State suicide" theory of Senator Sumner were, perhaps, the chief ingredients in the political caldron. The spirit of vindictiveness in which this legislation was conceived would serve for the "blind-worm's sting" in the haggish mixture. After having read many, if not most of the monographs on reconstruction, the present reviewer does not remember to have seen many complimentary allusions to the programme of Congress. In fact, those narratives collectively almost justify the organization and to some extent the conduct of the Knights of the White Camelia, popularly known as the Ku Klux Klan. Admitting the existence in Washington of considerable ignorance of conditions in the South, one cannot at the same time assume that amongst Radical Republicans either stupidity or vindictiveness was universal. This supposition would be both unnatural and contrary to established facts. Indeed, there is much to be said in justification of the apparent harshness of the majority in Congress.

This author, basing his conclusions upon public documents, articles selected from hostile newspapers, intimate personal knowledge, and other reliable sources, tells a plain unwrinkled tale. He satisfactorily explains a subject hitherto not clearly understood, namely, the ready submission by Southern leaders during the months immediately following the proclamation in May, 1865, of President Johnson (relative to the conditions for establishing a loyal government in North Carolina) and their

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subsequent change to an attitude of uncompromising hostility to everything Federal. For a detailed account of these causes the reader must consult the pages of Governor Clayton.

The author does not enumerate all the murders in his State, for even a brief sketch of outrages terminating fatally would of itself fill a volume. In *ante bellum* times as well as in the early *post bellum* era, intimidation, whipping, and murder were not infrequent throughout the South, but during the incumbency of Governor Clayton, 1868–1871, the Ku Klux dens of Arkansas won for that State a distinction in infamy which has probably never been equaled in any other section of the United States.

There is not in this valuable work of ex-Congressman Clayton a single boastful note. Indeed, self-praise was not necessary, for his public addresses make evident his intelligence, his patriotism and his courage. The years during which he filled the place of chief executive of his commonwealth were not such as to persuade "lily-livered" statesmen to accept high office. Beyond the Mississippi many ex-Confederates tarnished their fine military record earned in the war. In fact, one may suspect that Southern chivalry was far from being so general as readers of Civil War literature have been led to believe. There were in Arkansas many members of the White Camelia who would hardly be described as "gentle knights," and east of the Mississippi, in Tennessee, were others leagued with them in foul conspiracy. The most bitter of Radical Congressmen were angels of light in comparison with many Arkansas representatives of the "Lost Cause." It was not necessary for the author even slightly to exaggerate the hideous acts of those who made no secret of their conviction that any measures against Republicans were justified. The crimes either alluded to or described in this book were not provoked by hostile Republican legislation. Some writers have assembled extenuating circumstances, but there is not in the United States learning or ingenuity sufficient to vindicate Ku Klux brutality.

The former Governor of Arkansas, with the seasoned judgment of four-score years and two, and the temperate spirit subdued by time, has from his ample stores of information prepared much the best monograph on any phase of Congressional reconstruction that has yet been offered to the public. When

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we state that this is a valuable contribution to American history, we are not using a conventional description in a vague sense. Though the remark is not altogether pertinent, it should be added that the trials of the South during reconstruction were largely due to the fact that Governors like Powell Clayton were not elsewhere in office. In fact, such men have never come in crops. Why did an executive so accomplished and so courageous, it may be asked, not meet with success more perfect? He presided over a community then backward and in many respects rude.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

Life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton. By Lewis A. Leonard. New York: Moffat, Yard and Company, 1918. Pp. 313.

After Charles Carroll had attained to maturity of years it was no longer easy to separate the more important incidents of his life from the history of his State and country. So useful and so conspicuous were his services in the cause of American independence that the present reviewer has always been puzzled by the omission of his life from the excellent series of biographies entitled "American Statesmen." When the existence of this deficiency was brought to the notice of its general Editor, that scholarly gentleman expressed his regret that the series had been closed. Subsequently, it appears, it was opened, but into the ranks of even this lower range of statesmen the leading Maryland patriot of the Revolutionary period has not been admitted. The existence of Mr. Leonard's work, however, is a proof that there are intelligent writers who would have cheerfully undertaken so agreeable a piece of research. If it be contended that this book contains little concerning the last of the signers that is really new, the same statement may be truthfully made of many recent works of undoubted popularity. Some of them, to be sure, have put their narratives into better literary form than that in which they were first found, and in the sense that the thought belongs to him who says it best their books are original. Nevertheless, in our estimates we should not rate too highly the success of a mere thought-clothier.

If this reviewer had prepared for publication a new life of Charles Carroll of Carrollton, he would have called attention to

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the mutilation in *Modern Eloquence* of Webster's splendid oration on Adams and Jefferson. By a method of condensation, which doubtless economizes ink and paper, that great statesman's beautiful allusion to Carroll is omitted without so much as a hint to the "gentle" reader. The higher mathematics might enable one to calculate the cost of periods or of superior figures and footnotes. But whatever the reason, whether the exclusion was because of things material or for reasons light as air, one of Webster's masterpieces has been woefully altered by a board of editors who lived in an age of politics and commerce. Webster contrasted not only the living and the dead, but the pure patriot with two distinguished characters whose careers were not so nearly flawless. This reviewer does not attempt to explain what he does not fully understand, but he believes that this abridged speech should have been noticed by Mr. Leonard.

That this slighting of Charles Carroll, probably because of a commercial necessity, is not entirely an accident seems to be established not only by the silent omission of a paragraph in a carefully considered address but by the failure of Moses Coit Tyler, in his admirable *Literary History of the American Revolution*, to mention Charles Carroll as even one of the minor authors of that fruitful era. Dulaney, indeed, who defended kings and royal governors, is honored in that work, while his more able and patriotic adversary is passed without notice. If this writer's canons of literary criticism were drawn from the works of Ruskin, Newman, DeQuincy, or Burke or the other masters of prose style, he should have excluded many besides this Maryland statesman. In a word, Mr. Carroll does not appear to be highly regarded by men who have taken light draughts from the stream of American history. Collectively such suppressions appear to be significant. The present author should have examined them and explained why it is that in our time the noteworthy services of this patriot seem to be familiar to few except Catholic citizens and to most Marylanders regardless of creed. In our opinion it is not the personal estimate which makes him great.

The reprint of Carroll's *Journal* of the mission to Canada adds not a little to the value of this book. The same observation is true of Washington's letter *To the Roman Catholics in the*

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United States of America, which also is included. An index would have added to the utility of this volume.

Induced by the force of family traditions as well as state pride, and a descendant of colonial Marylanders has a right to be proud of ancestral achievement, Mr. Leonard undertook this work with more than the usual affection of an author for his theme. He has produced a readable and instructive book, which deserves a place in both public and private libraries.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

Virginia under The Stuarts (1607–1688). By Thomas J. Wertenbaker, Ph.D. Princeton: Princeton University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, Oxford University Press, 1914. Pp. 271.

The years 1607–1688, the period covered by this essay, were eventful ones for England and for Virginia. Milton, the eloquent champion of liberty, especially for his own sect, was born in 1608; Shakespeare lived on for eight, and Bacon for eighteen years. The reign of James I had ended in 1625, but before his death there had commenced with Parliament that quarrel which led his son Charles I to the block. Then followed the usurpation of Cromwell, whose son Richard appears to have inherited little of his father's military genius or his talent for leadership. The English people being no longer devoted to the Commonwealth, the Restoration (1660) was accomplished without much disturbance of the national life. But the dignified lords and simple ladies who graced the court of Charles I had by the time of the second Charles given way to libertine lords and shameless courtesans. In a sense the orgies following the Restoration were a protest against the gloom, the desolaiton, and the melancholy madness of Puritanism, whose principal exponents were Milton, Marvel, and Bunyan, though Hobbes was its lawgiver. The accession of Charles II made it safe for Butler to publish his rancorous verse. Dryden, a master of the two harmonies wrote sometimes to please himself, but generally to entertain the court. In his licentious pictures Wycherley outdid the "immortal John." To this and to the succeeding age belonged Waller and Denham, Farquhar and Congreve. The brief but troubled reign of James II was ended by the Revolution of 1688, which produced its crop of *Tatlers* and *Spectators*.

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But in seventeenth-century England there were, besides those who exclusively cultivated the muses, highminded men who were neither terrified by Puritan spectres nor degraded by courtly debauchery. There were brave and clever men like Raleigh, learned and versatile men like Bacon, honest and sensible men like Calvert. Their thoughts turned much on plantations, work in which each had given practical proofs of his interest, especially the first named and the last.

Dr. Wertenbaker vividly describes the courage, the sufferings, and the enthusiasm of the men who founded Virginia. His first chapter, based chiefly on primary sources, suggests the woes that filled the early years of Jamestown. The tale though familiar seems never to lose its interest. In his account of the first President of the Virginia Council the author does not mention *Archaeologia Americana* one of the volumes of which includes Deane's essay on Edward Maria Wingfield, the only one of the patentees who came to Virginia. An examination of this subject and a proper subordination of Smith's testimony would have improved the treatment of the beginnings of Virginia. The wreck on one of the Summer Islands of the *Sea Adventure* should have suggested a reference to *The Tempest*, in which Shakespeare alludes to the "still-vex'd Bermoothes," showing by his artful spelling of the name of their discoverer an acquaintance with the Spanish tongue.

The second chapter describes the development of Virginia and the establishment in that province of representative government; also the controversy between James I and the London Company, which culminated in the loss of its charter. The prevalence of sickness among the settlers and the massacre by the Indians are likewise noticed; also the resolution of the English to destroy the native population. The later experience of Maryland and Pennsylvania as well as the contemporary experience of the French suggests that it was possible to form with the Indians a better arrangement than that established by the Jamestown colonists. The trials of the settlers, which were ascribed to the mistakes of the company, led King James to take into his own hands the affairs of the colony. In addition to the succession of misfortunes attending this adventure the king perceived in the administration of Virginian affairs unmistakable evidences of hostility

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to things monarchical, and in determining to revoke the charter these signs of democracy were not without influence.

King Charles, whose ambition was to be known as a gentleman of elegance and fashion, appears to have thought little of his distant subjects. This neglect may serve to explain his friendship for Sir William Harvey, whose official conduct spread confusion and unrest among the colonists. By giving to the Barons Baltimore the land to the north of the Potomac as far as the fortieth parallel, Charles supplied the Virginians with a new grievance. Referring to this act, Dr. Wertenbaker states that "They resented the encroachment upon their territories, they hated the newcomers because most of them were Catholics, they feared the loss of a part of their Indian trade, and they foresaw the growth of a dangerous rival in the culture of tobacco." The proportion of Protestants to Catholics in the passenger lists of the *Ark* and the *Dove* has been the subject of some searching investigations, but nevertheless it has not been satisfactorily settled. The evidence indicates that the Catholics were fewer than one-half of the whole. Maryland is always regarded as a settlement made by Catholics, not because they were numerically stronger than non-Catholics, but because they were more influential. In the first half of the seventeenth century men were weighed rather than counted. In a word, the founders of Maryland and those who shaped its early institutions, though not a majority of its people, were Catholics.

The careful student of American colonial history will be surprised to learn that the Calverts were not the founders of the first colony in Maryland, but that this honor is ascribed to William Claiborne. "In thus founding a colony within Baltimore's territory," says the author, "he [Claiborne] was sustained by the Council." It has never been asserted that the worthy adventurers who came to the region of the Chesapeake in the *Ark* and the *Dove* were the first white sojourners in the country included in what afterward became the province of Maryland. Though in no sense the founder of the colony, or of any colony, Claiborne's considerable activity was long exerted to destroy the flourishing settlements made under the auspices of the Calverts.

The Lords Baltimore were the founders of Maryland in the sense in which nearly half a century afterward William Penn

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was the founder of the colony immediately to the northward. No historian of repute has claimed for Swedish trappers on the Wissahickon or their countrymen on Tinicum Island any share in establishing the great Quaker colony. Nor had the enterprising traders of New Haven, who sought furs along the Schuylkill, any part in the colonization of Pennsylvania. To Penn, for reasons well known, was awarded the territory by Charles II, and it was for the government of his colony that a charter was issued. In the case of Maryland, the grant intended for the first Baron Baltimore was, on his death, conferred on his son Cecilius, the second Baron Baltimore. That charter, pointing back to the medieval County Palatine of Durham, provided the first fundamental law for the colonists of Calvert. Neither King nor Parliament, on the other hand, had given lands or a charter to Claiborne's "colony." One need not ascribe to him the crimes of his bandit friends. His own achievements sufficiently denote him.

Referring further to Harvey, the author remarks (p. 72) that the Governor's "espousal of the cause of the enemies of Virginia made the planters regard him as a traitor." An attentive examination of the early history of Maryland does not show the people of that province to have been hostile to their countrymen below the Potomac. The first Baron Baltimore, in expectation of living amongst them, had actually visited Jamestown, but had been forced thence by an intolerance which the worthy sons of that proud State are not accustomed to emphasize. Moreover, one does not need to travel far in the science of logic to be convinced that the colony of Virginia and Claiborne were not identities. These statements are not intended as a defense of Harvey, but to serve for correction in history. The unworthiness of the Governor, indeed, sufficiently appears from an examination of the archives of the British Public Records Office. That the Council of Virginia was hostile to Maryland is more than implied in Harvey's attempt to obtain their promise "not to molest Maryland." They refused (p. 77) to comply with this as with other requests of the departing representative of royalty. But in scope the religious antipathy of Virginians extended further than to Catholics, for the author states that after the arrival of Berkeley "several statutes had been passed by the Assembly to suppress

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the Quakers and Puritans." But when, notwithstanding the laws, Puritan ministers bearing commendations from Governor Withrop did arrive, Berkeley caused a law to be passed requiring conformity and imposing upon the authorities the duty of expulsion. Discouraged by the nature of their reception, two of the clergymen returned to Massachusetts, though one remained behind.

The chapter describing the causes of Bacon's Rebellion and that which treats of the progress of the insurrection itself give the best account of that movement which the reviewer remembers to have read. This part of the narrative is supplemented by a section which admirably describes the ensuing era of confusion in the colony. Though generations were to pass before the war for independence, Virginians appear never to have entirely forgotten the ancestral experience with royal governors.

In his concluding chapter, which considers the critical period, the author states (p. 56) that "the glorious Revolution was a victory for liberty even more important to Virginia than to England." This estimate is not in harmony with the reviewer's recollection of his reading in American colonial history. Whatever benefits may have ultimately resulted to England from the coming of the Prince of Orange, the colonies, which had thrived by the neglect of the early Stuarts, were ruled by a firmer hand. But the soldier-statesman from Nassau, who had delivered the British people from "Popery, from wooden shoes, and brass money," ruled the colonists with a touch of despotism. If he had not been the champion of orthodoxy, one wonders whether his rigor would have been so cheerfully forgiven. Doubtless in the change of kings the spacious firmament had lost nothing of its grandeur, the landscape nothing of its beauty, but the aspect of humanity under William, Anne, and the first two Georges, was repulsive. Were one to quote the playwrights of the period, some provision of the Espionage Act might be invoked by our Department of Justice, for the conclusions of critics read like libels on an ancient nation. In those reigns Paradise was, as yet, but a speck in the remote depths of the universe. The writings of Swift and the speeches of Walpole show corruption in high places and brutality in low. But fortunately by the time of George III the nation was moving toward higher things.

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Dr. Wertenbaker's monograph is a valuable contribution to the interesting history of Virginia, a subject on which his knowledge is at once ample and accurate. It is only when he passes the limits of the Old Dominon that he occasionally slips. A title descriptive of the contents of this book would be *Virginia to the Revolution of* 1688, for Mary, who was queen regnant, as well as her sister Anne were Stuart sovereigns. This study, which has little to say of Virginia under William and Mary, gives the reader no information concerning colonial happenings under Queen Anne.

CHARLES H. MCCARTHY.

A History of Spain. Founded on the *Historia de España y de la civilización española* of Rafael Altamira. By Charles E. Chapman, Ph.D., Assistant Professor of History in the University of California. New York: The MacMillan Company, 1918. Pp. xv+559.

The fast-developing interest in things Spanish and Spanish-American, one aspect of which is to be observed in the vastly increased classes in Spanish in American schools and colleges—in great measure a mushroom growth, artificially "forced" by a dollars-and-cents, non-cultural stimulus, but at bottom sound and lasting—has had its effect in the world of scholarship as well, if one is to judge by such recent publications as Dr. Coester's invaluable *History of Spanish-American Literature*, Professor Merriman's *The Rise of the Spanish Empire in the Old World and in the New* (of which two of the projected four volumes have appeared), and the present useful work, which the author characterizes as "an attempt to give in one volume the main features of Spanish history from the standpoint of America."

With commendable straightforwardness Professor Chapman not only acknowledges his indebtedness to the monumental work of that master historian of Spain Rafael Altamira y Crevea (*Historia de España y de la civilización española*, 4 vols., Barcelona, 1900–1911), as he was of course bound to do, but in his sub-title announces his book as "founded" thereon, a praiseworthy mark of honesty and modesty, but one which nevertheless does not do full justice to his own contribution. Not only has he had to condense Altamira's materials within a compass only one-fifth

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as great, but in addition he has based one entire chapter (Chap. XXXII, dealing with the reign of Charles III) on his own researches, while for the period since 1808 he has been compelled to rely entirely on sources other than Altamira, and in the last chapter, that on contemporary Spain, has given the fruits of his own studies and observations during a residence of some years in that country. All this is pointed out, with equal modesty, by Sr. Altamira himself in the laudatory introduction that he has written for the book. The general impression that one gains from this first insight is that the work is to be distinguished by fairness, scholarliness, dignity, and honesty, an impression which closer examination seems to bear out.

As intimated above, the book is primarily intended for American readers (in both continents) and Dr. Chapman has borne in mind throughout that those features of Spanish history that directly or indirectly have affected our own history and that of our sister nations of the South are naturally of paramount interest. Accordingly, the place of Spain in general European history is given relatively little space, emphasis being laid on the growth of Spanish civilization and the development of Spanish institutions, with their ultimate transfer to the Americas kept constantly in view, while more than half the volume is devoted to the years 1479 to 1808, the three centuries from the sixteenth to the nineteenth being especially singled out in this way not only because they are the period of the transmission of Spanish civilization to the Americas, but also because the Spanish institutions that affected the colonies at all did so in the form that they acquired at that time. This is stated in the author's preface, and in practically these words.

Something has been said of the importance given to the growth of Spanish civilization and the development of Spanish institutions. This is a modern history, and as such is concerned with particular personages, dates, and events only in so far as they serve as pegs (the author's own term) upon which to hang the study of the development of civilization. The modern historiographer is interested primarily in causes and effects, in the investigation of those great underlying conditions—social, economic, intellectual, and religious, as well as political—which are the soul of history, which *are* history in the modern philo-

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sophic sense. An understanding of these conditions forms the background upon which dates and names and events stand out in their proper light, and it is just as essential to a real comprehension of their relative and comparative significance as the stage and setting are to the actor; without it there could be no historical actors, no action. In this instance, these underlying conditions were in a constant state of change and flux, and the author has treated Spanish institutions "not as static (which they never were) but in process of evolution, from period to period." Miner events and personages of lesser importance have not been referred to except cumulatively, in certain cases, for purposes of illustration or emphasis. The account is, moreover, topically arranged, so that recourse may be had to appropriate chapters for the study of any particular feature (social, economic, etc.) of Spanish history for any given period, while in some cases chapters are so divided topically as to permit investigation of individual institutions or of conditions in the various component parts of the country.

A cursory examination of the chapter headings will illustrate the system which the author has followed. For example, Chapter VII discusses "The Era of the Spanish Crusades (1031–1276)" from the narrative point of view, while Chapter VIII treats "Social and Politieal Organization in Spain (1031–1276)" and Chapter IX "Material and Intellectual Progress in Spain (1031–1276)." Each of these chapters is sub-divided under the headings "Moslem Spain," "León and Castile," "Aragon Proper," "Catalonia," "Valencia," "Balearic Islands," and "Navarre." As a further illustration, one notes that Chapter X takes up "Development toward National Unity: Castile (1252–1479)," Chapter XI "Development toward National Unity: Aragon (1276–1379)," while Chapter XII discusses "Social Organization in Spain (1252–1479)," Chapter XIII "The Castilian State (1252–1479)," Chapter XIV "The Aragonese State (1276–1479)," Chapter XV "Economic Organization in Spain (1252–1479)," Chapter XVI "Intellectual Progress in Spain (1252–1479)," and Chapter XVII "Institutions of Outlying Spanish States (1252–1479)."

Similarly, for the "Era of the Catholic Kings (1479–1517)," Chapter XVIII is concerned with political history, while Chapters XIX, XX, and XXI discuss respectively "Social Reforms,"

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"Political Reforms," and "Material and Intellectual Progress" during that important period. The same plan is followed for the period 1516–1700 (Chaps. XXV–XXX) and for the period 1700–1808 (Chaps. XXXIV–XXXVIII), in each case separate chapters being assigned to political institutions, economic factors, religious conditions, and intellectual activities (education, philosophy, history, science, literature, art, etc.).

The value of this arrangement is obvious, especially when it accompanies adequate editorial apparatus such as Dr. Chapman has provided. This includes a thorough index, a marginal gloss which serves as running commentary on the text, and an extended (but select) bibliography of works in English dealing with the general history of Spain, with special periods, or with travel and description. A general map of Spain and a special map illustrating the development toward national unity (910–1492) add to the utility of the volume.

In discussing a work of this nature it is of course hopeless to attempt to signalize particular features in any great detail. The book is general in character, a handbook of Spanish history summarizing the results of research upon particular aspects and periods rather than a volume of original material. It is not written primarily for the specialist, who can read Altamira or, indeed, the original documents for himself; and only the specialist is seriously interested in those matters of minor detail, such as the solution of knotty problems by the application of modern research methods, points which are the joy and zest of the scholar's life but not of especial moment to the ordinary student or that kind friend of the overworked reviewer—the "general reader." It is worth while, however, to mention a few of the features that seem worthy of particular notice, without prejudice to the many others of equal interest that the book undoubtedly contains. First, as to matters of religious controversy: the Church has played a great part throughout Spanish history, and some of her noblest names are Spanish. It is not to be wondered at, therefore, that the Church is frequently mentioned in the book; indeed, two entire chapters are devoted to her relations with the state. Dr. Chapman is a scholar, and has a scholar's respect for truth. His treatment of matters of a controversial nature is impartial and restrained. This is especially noticeable in the

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discussion of the Inquisition, that bugbear of the older school of historians. Throughout, Dr. Chapman lays stress upon the semi-political character of the Inquisition. For example, on page 311, he says, "In fact the Inquisition was virtually an instrument of the kings, who did not hesitate to direct its action as if it were legally subject to them," pointing to its trial of St. Ignatius and Santa Teresa, and the fact that Bartolomé Carranza, Archbishop of Toledo, was only saved from it by Pope Pius IV (p. 307). Reference is frequently made to the opposition to some of the activities of the Inquisition on the part of the clergy and hierarchy, as in the Netherlands (p. 250), where attention is called in a striking way to the opposition of the "nobles and clergy alike" to the introduction of the Inquisition, and emphasis is laid on the fact that the early leaders of the revolt in the Netherlands were Catholics, many of them members of the clergy, and that the hotbed of rebellion was the Catholic south rather than the Protestant north. So much for Professor Chapman's fairness and impartiality on these delicate questions.

Other features of marked interest are the sympathetic treatment of modern Spain, in which the author shows common sense and much frankness, and the surprisingly competent chapters on the Golden Age in Spain (education, science, literature, and art), which would do credit to a Fitzmaurice-Kelly. A small point, but one which shows Dr. Chapman's scholarly accuracy, is his consistent use of "Moslem," the comprehensive term, for the commonly employed 'Moor," which does not include the Arabs, who played a far more important role in the development of Spanish culture.

The style of the book, while not noteworthy as an exercise in English (that would be asking too much), is clear, straightforward, and interesting. The volume is free from misprints, no small achievement considering the many Spanish names and the perverseness of compositors, an evidence of the author's painstaking care in reading the proofs. It is to be hoped that Professor Chapman will soon be able to give us the corresponding volume on Spanish-America that he half promises in his preface.

H. G. Doyle.

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NOTES AND COMMENT

Now that the American army is returning to civil life, a more determined effort will be made by the historical agencies in the country to gather together all the material available for the story of the war. Naturally the War Department, the State Department, the Commissions on Training Camp Activities, the Knights of Columbus, the seven organizations represented in the United War Drive of November, 1918, the Red Cross, and many others will have their own plans for the history of their activities. Besides these, there are the State Historical Societies, the State War History Commissions, the State Councils of Defence, and other bodies of historical scholars, who will assist in the work of writing the war's history. The Committee on Historical Records of the National Catholic War Council recently presented to the Archbishops of the country its *First Annual Report*. In every diocesan center it is planned to organize a diocesan war history committee for the purpose of gathering up all material available for the history of American Catholics in the war. Every diocesan committee is to have three bureaus:

1. *A War Museum:* Every Diocese should possess one or two rooms somewhere where samples of everything used by the soldiers should be stored. There should be, for example, a sample of the kit used by the chaplains, a sample of all the things sent by the Chaplains Bureau to the soldiers, uniforms, gas masks and general equipment. There should be also in this museum a collection of souvenirs, such as helmets, shells and other things. The idea behind this would be not only to preserve these things but also to have them on exhibition as a stimulus towards the idea of preservation.

2. *A War Library:* All the printed official documents from any one in authority from the highest to the lowest rank within the confines of the state, county, town, province, diocese, and parish should be carefully bound in loose leaf fashion, permanent binding being a mistake at this stage. All possible war books already printed or to be printed should be carefully classified. There should be a complete set of every publication, *i. e.*, newspapers, reviews, magazines, etc., from the beginning of the war which in any way deal with war activities. All publications by any official or non-official organization, Catholic or non-Catholic, or otherwise, should also be there.

3. *A War Archives:* The possibilities of material for what should go into this depot are almost limitless—letters from soldiers, diaries of soldiers, photographs of all kinds, posters of all kinds, specimens of service flags, buttons, programs of concerts, programs of all sorts of patriotic demonstrations, etc., etc.

With its well-organized system of government, there is no fear that, once the soldiers are returned to their former avocations, a complete historical survey of Catholic activities can be made. Meanwhile all are urged to send to the Committee on Historical Records at 932 Fourteenth Street, N.W., Washington, D. C., whatever historical material they possess.

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An article on the Catholic Church in the United States, deserving translation, is one published by the present Bishop of Ogdensburg, Dr. Gabriels, entitled *Le Catholicisme aux États-Unis durant le XIX^e^ siècle*, which appeared in the *Correspondant* for January, 1901.

The Right Rev. William Turner, D.D., one of the five Associate Editors of the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, was consecrated Bishop of Buffalo, March 30, 1919. Bishop Turner was educated at Mungret College, Limerick, Ireland, at the Royal University of Ireland, and at the College of Propaganda, Rome. He was appointed Associate Professor in Philosophy at the Catholic University of America in 1906. He has also been editor of the *Catholic University Bulletin*, and of the *Ecclesiastical Review*. His best known work is his *History of Philosophy*, which was published in 1903. THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW has profited largely by his judgment and scholarship and wishes him a sincere *ad multos annos*.

In the death of James A. Rooney, LL.D., who passed away on January 17, 1919, Catholic historical scholarship has suffered a unique loss. Dr. Rooney was born December 25, 1842, at Willville, County Monaghan, Ireland, the home of his mother's family, the MacKennas of Truagh. His father, Dr. Redmond J. Rooney, of Enniskillen, after graduating from Dublin University, came to America in 1848 and located in New York City. His uncle, Father John MacKenna, was one of the pioneer priests of the Brooklyn Diocese. James Rooney was graduated from Niagara University in the Class of 1860, the first to graduate from that institution. He served all through the Civil War, and was discharged with the rank of major. He was one of the best known G. A. R. men in the country. His entire historical collection has been given to the Catholic University of America. Among his papers is a complete set of *The Catholic Chronologist*, which Dr. Rooney published during 1913, 1914, 1915. This timely record of the many memorable events in the Catholic history of America was to become eventually a volume to be entitled *Catholic Talks and Walks in Fields Historical*. The completion of this valuable work was hindered during the past three years by the illness which eventually caused his death. The late Cardinal Farley, who wrote an introduction to the volume, stated that "the happy thought of collecting and coordinating note-worthy events in the history of the Catholic Church in America was little short of inspiration." Dr. Rooney's whole heart was in the work, for by it he felt he could stimulate the study and reading of Catholic American historical topics and thus keep alive their memory.

Many are asking the question whether there is soon to be a Fourth Plenary or National Council of the Church in the United States. The organized Church in America is now one hundred and thirty years old, and certain landmarks are necessary for the accurate history of national conciliar legislation in the Church of the United States during that time.

From 1790 to 1808, the United States of that time comprised a single Diocese —that of Baltimore, which was governed by Bishop Carroll. In 1808, Pope

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Pius VII created four suffragan Sees—Bardstown (now Louisville), Boston, Philadelphia, and New York. Baltimore became an archiepiscopal See, with Archbishop John Carroll as its metropolitan. The See of New Orleans had been placed under his jurisdiction in 1806, and thus was formed the first ecclesiastical province of the Church in the United States. As the country grew in length and breadth, the Church multiplied *pari passu* its parishes and dioceses, but the single ecclesiastical province, with the Archbishops of Baltimore—Neale (1815–1817), Maréchal (1818–1828), Whitfield (1828–1834), Eccleston (1834–1851), and F. P. Kenrick (1851–1863)—at its head, still held its unique position.

When the First Plenary Council of the Church in the United States opened on May 9, 1852, there were six ecclesiastical provinces—Baltimore (1808), Oregon City (1846), St. Louis (1847), New Orleans (1850), New York (1850), and Cincinnati (1850); and there were present at its sessions six Archbishops and thirty-five suffragan Bishops. The Bishop of Monterey, and the Bishop of Toronto, Canada, were also in attendance.

When the Second Plenary Council began its sessions on October 7, 1866, there were seven Archbishops and thirty-nine Bishops present,—the seventh ecclesiastical province being that of San Francisco, which was created on July 25, 1853.

Eighteen years later, when the Third and, up to our time, the last, Plenary Council opened on November 9, 1884, the fourteen ecclesiastical provinces as they exist today were represented.

We have then a certain number of logical divisions for the study of national Catholic legislation:

I. *The Church in the United States under the Bishop of Baltimore* (1790–1808).
II. *The Church in the United States under the Archbishops of Baltimore* (1808–1852).
III. *The Legislation of the First Plenary Council of the Church in the United States* (1852–1866).
IV. *The Legislation of the Second Plenary Council* (1866–1884).
V. *The Legislation of the Third Plenary Council* (1884–1919).

I. During the first eighteen years (1790–1808) when Bishop John Carroll governed the Church in the United States, his jurisdiction was supreme, with the exception of the border countries where that jurisdiction was shared by mutual agreement with the Bishops of Quebec and the Bishops of Mexico. The whole territory of the United States was placed under Bishop Carroll's jurisdiction by the Congregation of Propaganda on January 29, 1791, but certain parts of this territory were still in dispute, such as the regions about Detroit and Natchez. The agreement with the Bishops of Quebec and of Mexico made them Vicars-General of Bishop Carroll. During those years but one national Synod was

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convoked—that of Baltimore in 1791. The letter of convocation is dated September 27, 1791 (Shea, Vol. ii, p. 394), and the Sessions were held on November 7, 8, 9, and 10, 1791. There were present besides Bishop Carroll, Fathers Pellentz (Vicar-General for the whole United States), Molyneux (Vicar-General for the Southern District), Fleming (Vicar-General for the Northern District), Nagot, (President of St. Mary's Seminary), and sixteen other priests, among them Father Leonard Neale, who was to succeed Carroll as Archbishop of Baltimore, and Father Lawrence Graessel, who died as Coadjutor-elect of Baltimore in October, 1793. The story of this Synod is told in Shea, Vol. ii, pp. 394–399. Its statutes were published in 1817—*Statuta Synodi Baltimorensis anno 1791 celebratae* (p. 21), and reprinted in the *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori habita ab anno 1829 usque ad annum 1849* (Baltimore, 1851, p. 307.) Finotti (*Bibliog. Cath. Americana*, p. 238) states that there is preserved in the archives of St. Mary's Seminary, a manuscript entitled *Synod of '91*, in the handwriting of Dr. Nagot. The MS. is "wrapped in the passport given to the Doctor and signed by Louis XVI." Shea tells that the *Acta* of this Synod form the first body of laws adopted for the Government of the Church in this country, and that they have constantly excited the admiration of all who study them. "The first Provincial Council, held at Baltimore in 1829, expressing admiration for the zeal, prudence, and learning displayed by Bishop Carroll in a Synod (1791) held when, from the spirit of the time and the scattered position of the faithful, unity was so difficult, ordered the Acts of the Synod to be printed at the head of those of the Provincial Council, a position they have to this day retained in all the collections of the Acts of the Provincial Councils of Baltimore" (p. 398). Two documents which form part of the Acts of this Synod are Carroll's *Circular on Christian Marriage* (1791), and his *Lenten Pastoral* of 1792.

II. During the next forty-four years (1808-1852) the statutes of the Synod of 1791 formed the basis for the canonical legislation which followed down to the First Plenary Council. An official meeting took place in 1810—the so-called Agreement of 1810, when Archbishop Carroll with his Suffragans met for the purpose of regulating certain difficulties not foreseen by the members of the Synod of 1791. This Agreement will be found in the publication of 1851, referred to above. The *Pastoral* of 1810 which brought the meaning of the Agreement to the faithful, will be found in full in Shea (Vol. ii, pp. 633–635). That continual legislation for the Church was necessary is evident from the number of Provincial Councils held from 1829 to 1849. Father Fanning, S.J., who writes the article *Baltimore—Provincial Councils*, in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* (Vol. ii, pp. 239–241), rightly claims that the first seven Provincial Councils, held in 1829, 1832, 1837, 1840, 1843, 1846, and 1849, were practically, though not formally, national or plenary councils of the Church in the United States. Shea gives ample treatment to these seven provincial councils, and their *Acta et Decreta* will be found in the collection: *Concilia Provincialia Baltimori habita ab anno 1829 usque ad annum 1849. Editio altera.* (Baltimore, 1857, pp. 307). Other documents of importance are: *Lettre pastorale de Nosseigneurs l'archévêque de Baltimore et les autres Prélats de l'église Catholique des*

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Etats-Unis, assemblés en Council à Baltimore en Octobre 1829 aux Catholiques des Etats-Unis. (Baltimore, 1829, pp. 24); *Pastoral Letter of the Sixth Provincial Council of Baltimore, held in May*, 1846 (Baltimore, 1846, pp. 16).

III. The First Plenary Council of Baltimore, held in May, 1852, has been adequately treated by Shea (Vol. iv, pp. 366–397), and its statutes will be found in *Concilium Plenarium totius Americae Septentrionalis Foederatae Baltimori habitum anno 1852* (Baltimore, 1853, p. 64). The contemporary Catholic newspapers and periodicals contain much valuable information on this Council and a concise account of the procedings of the Council will be found in the *Berichte* of the Leopoldine Association (Vol. xxv, 1853, pp. 1–8). In this same *Report* can be seen Archbishop Kenrick's letter in the name of the Fathers of the Council to the Association (pp. 8–10).

IV. The Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, held in October, 1866, is treated in the last few pages of Shea's great work *The History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (Vol. iv, pp. 715–720). As is well known, he was on his death-bed when these pages were written. The Catholic press of the day devoted considerable space to the history of the Council. Material will also be found in *Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Secundi in Ecclesia Metropolitana Baltimorensi a die 7 ad diem 21 Octobris 1866 habiti et a Sede Apostolica recognita Acta et Decreta* (Baltimore, 1868). Smith's *Notes on the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore* (New York, 1874, p. 411) are rather an attempt at codifying the Statutes of the Council than a description of its procedure. G. C. Perrine published (Baltimore, 1914) a translation of Niedermayer's *Council of Baltimore* (1866), which had appeared at Frankfort, in Germany, 1867, (pp. 54). The *Pastoral Letter of the Hierarchy* published at the close of the Council, gives a succinct statement of the legislation agreed upon by the Fathers of the Council. Much useful information will be found in Chapter XXIII of Spalding's *Life of Archbishop Spalding* (New York, 1873).

V. The *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plenarii Baltimorensis Tertii, A. D.* MDCCCLXXXIV were published at Baltimore in 1886 (p. 321). Apart from the brochure—Nilles' *Commentaria in Concilium Plenarium Baltimorense Tertium ex praelectionibus academicis ad usus auditorum excerpta* (2 parts, Innsbruck, 1890), very little has been written on this most important codex of American Canon Law. Bishop O'Gorman's *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1895), gives a description of its sessions, and the matters dealt with by the Fathers of the Council are explained by Fanning in the article quoted above. With the publication of the revised *Codex* in 1917, all local legislation will be obliged to conform as far as possible with the universal legislation of the Church. This no doubt will be done in works similar to that of Bishop Emard of Valleyfield, Canada, whose *Code de Droit Canonique* covers the entire *Codex* with special application of its rules to the conditions of the Church in Canada.

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The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge is publishing a series of *Helps for Students of History*. Among the pamphlets now ready are *Municipal Records, Medieval Reckonings of Time, The Public Record Office, The Care of Documents*, and *The Logic of History*. Reginald L. Poole writes the brochure on medieval chronology and he has explained in simple language the way in which time was reckoned in the Middle Ages. Any one who has struggled through the two hundred pages Giry has devoted to the subject in his *Manuel de Diplomatique*, will appreciate Mr. Poole's little book. It is strange that no one has translated the introduction to the Roman Breviary—no more erudite epitome on Chronology could be found.

Catholic army men will be interested in the fact that a *History of the United States Army Chaplains* has been begun by the War Department. The preliminary research work has been outlined in a synopsis sent out by Major Axton. It is divided into four parts and an appendix. Part One comprises the history of the chaplains within the United States, and deals with: (*a*) the status of the Regular Army chaplains on the eve of the war; (*b*) the New Army and the demand for more chaplains; (*c*) training the new chaplains at Camp Zachary Taylor; (*d*) the chaplains in the camps, hospitals, internment camps, disciplinary barracks, at the posts, etc., etc. Part Two embraces the history of the chaplains overseas—in France, Italy, and England, and treats such questions as: (*a*) the voyage over; (*b*) the conditions abroad; (*c*) the chaplains at the Front, in the trenches, at the rest camps, in the hospitals, on special duty; of the work of the chaplains during the armistice. Part Three describes the work done by the chaplains with the American forces in Archangel, Siberia, etc. Part Four deals with casualties and honors, and has a very important sub-heading entitled *What Enlisted Men say about the Chaplains*. We cannot have too much comment on the heroism of the American chaplains, Protestant, Jewish, and Catholic for all, with but few exceptions, wrote their names large upon the history of the war. All who can assist Major Axton in this laudable design should do so. Letters, photographs, etc., are especially wanted, and all letters entrusted to him will be carefully copied and returned. THE REVIEW will be glad to receive all such material and will be responsible for its safe return.

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BIBLIOGRAPHY

GUIDE TO THE BIOGRAPHICAL SOURCES OF THE AMERICAN HIERARCHY

The history of the Catholic Church in any country is best understood in the lives of its leaders. Few sources are richer in their yield for ecclesiastical history than the biographies of the bishops who began or who carried on the work of Catholic organization in the different parts of the world. For the Church history of the United States, biography furnishes one of our most abundant sources. This fact is at once the virtue and the defect of all that has so far been written in the field of American Church history. If, for example, John Gilmary Shea had followed the plan carried out by Charles Dodd in his *Church History of England (1500–1688)*—published at Brussels (*i. e.*, Wolverhampton) in 1737, his four volumes of the *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* would form today a surer guide to the research student. Dodd's folio volumes are divided into eight parts, corresponding with the eight reigns over which the work extends. Each of these parts is again divided into three other parts—*History*, *Biography*, and *Records*. Dodd, or to give him his right name, Father Hugh Tootle, appreciated better than many of his contemporaries the eminent value of biographical sources. He has left in manuscript an *Historical and Critical Dictionary, comprising the Lives of the most eminent Roman Catholics from the year 1500 to 1688*, in three large folios, of 1,280 pages. One of these manuscript volumes is in the Archives of the Old Brotherhood; the others are in the library at Oscott. These biographies are fuller than those in the printed *Church History*, but together with the latter they form the most precious source we have for English Catholic history. From Dodd's time (d. 1743) down to that of Joseph Gillow, who completed (*1500–1688*) his five volumes, *Biographical Dictionary of English Catholics (1534–1898)*, very few attempts were made to continue this important study. Gillow's work is a literary and biographical history of all the eminent Catholics of the post-Reformation period.

That a similar work would fill a much felt want in the field of American Church history needs no proof.

Several efforts have been made to write the history of the American Catholic hierarchy. The earliest of these is the series of sketches given in the *Laity's Directory* for 1822, where, after *A Brief Account of the Establishment of Episcopacy in the United States*, there follows *The Present State of Religion in the Respective Dioceses*. The *Catholic Directory* or *Catholic Almanac*, published with but few exceptions (1862, 1863) each year since 1833, also contains biographical matter. In 1886, Shea published in one volume a popular work, *The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States*. This work is of little value historically, since he followed a plan which one of his letters betrays, namely, to avoid all reference to sources, lest others misuse them. In 1888, Richard H. Clarke published in three volumes his *Lives of the Deceased Bishops of the Catholic Church in the United States*. In the second and third volumes of this work references to bio-

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graphical sources are given, but the work is generally rather unreliable. In 1889, Clarke published in two volumes his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States from the Earliest Period to the Present Time with biographical sketches of the Living Bishops.* This work is likewise of small value historically, but it takes a certain precedence over others by reason of the portraits it contains.

The first serious historical work on the subject is that by Francis X. Reuss, *Biographical Cyclopedia of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States* (1789–1898), published at Milwaukee in 1898. With what seemed at first self-laudation, Reuss called his work "nothing more—nor less—than an American supplement to the *Art of Verifying Dates.* It is not a history in the ordinary meaning of the word; it is a manual of fundamental data for the guidance of future historians of the Church in the United States, as of corrections of errors into which all our historians have so far fallen." Reuss was justified, as time proved, in the claim he made for his unique little volume. The student will find in his work, in alphabetical order, biographical sketches of all the prelates of the Church in America from 1789 down to 1898. In every case the sources from which he obtained his dates and facts are given. In many cases the facts come from the bishops themselves. During the past three years, Bishop Corrigan of Baltimore has published his *Chronology of the Catholic Hierarchy of the United States* in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW. Bishop Corrigan's plan supplemented the work of Reuss to a great extent. He has followed a geographico-chronological division, taking up the Provinces and the Suffragan Sees in the order of their establishment, and then giving chronologically the archbishops and bishops who ruled over the same.

But something more is needed. It is not enough to have a chronological list of the bishops, nor is a biographical index, such as that of Reuss, sufficient for historical needs. Shea and Clarke have given us biographies of the American episcopate, but we have nothing similar to Dodd's work, which helps the English Catholic historian in his research for material on the lives of the bishops. We have no work comparable to that of Gillow, who gives a list of the writings, printed and unprinted, of all the eminent Catholics of England in modern times. What we need is a Dictionary of the American Hierarchy containing all known sources for the complete history of the bishops who have ruled over the Church in the United States. The work nearest the ideal would be a reprint of Corrigan's *Chronology* with a detailed statement of the sources and books on each bishop. As far as the sources are concerned, there are two depots which are difficult of access—episcopal archives and Roman archives. The former contain in most cases Diaries, Journals, MSS., Letters, etc., of each bishop who has ruled over the See in question. That care has not always been taken of these goes without saying, but the careless age of archival accuracy embraces State as well as Church official life. In the Roman archives, and in particular in the Archives of Propaganda, there is a mass of Reports on every diocese in the country. In other parts of the official archives at Rome are minute biographical details on the lives, habits, virtues, etc., of every ecclesiastic proposed for a vacant see. Much of this material, of course, will never see the light, at least

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not in our time. The same caution followed in state archives is followed in church depots. For this reason, Fish's *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and Other Italian Archives* (Washington, 1911), is invaluable to the student.

The plan proposed for the present series of biographical sketches is to follow in alphabetical order the *deceased* bishops of the Church in the United States. No biographical sketch is given, since that is already well done by Bishop Corrigan and by Reuss. An extensive study has been made of all the materials at our disposal for references to sources and books on the lives of the bishops. One source which cannot be neglected by the student is the Catholic press. As the Church grew, Catholic newspapers and magazines multiplied. Catholic life centers so much around the bishop of each locality that the pages of these journals are filled with local events and movements. Gradually, as time goes on, these periodicals assume the rank of source depots. Journalism is not always a school of accuracy, but special care is usually taken in reporting Catholic events, since the clergy would soon withdraw their support from a paper which neglected an accurate description of Church affairs. For a guide in the matter of periodical research, reference can be had to Foix's *Pioneer Efforts in Catholic Journalism in the United States* (1809–1840), which appeared in the CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW for October, 1915 (pp. 258–270). Lists of Catholic periodicals, from the beginning down to 1892, will be found in Middleton's articles on that subject in the *Records* of the American Catholic Historical Society, Vol. iv (1893), pp. 217–242, and Vol. xix (1908), pp. 18–42, where the number of Catholic publications in existence up to 1892 is given as four hundred and fifty-seven.

The proofs for these pages have been sent to the present occupants of the Sees mentioned, and in some cases valuable additions have been made.[1]

ALEMANY, Archbishop Joseph Sadoc (1814-1888); Bp. of Monterey (1850–1853); Arch. of San Francisco (1853-1889); resigned 1889.

REUSS, *op. cit.*, pp. 7–8; CHR, Vol. i, p. 32, and Vol. ii, p. 293 (biographical sketches); CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 196–260; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 170; ENGELHARDT, *Missions and Missionaries of California*, Vol. iv, pp. 666–816 *passim;* ACHS, *Researches*, Vol. xxi, p. 177; articles in *Dominicana* of San Francisco, 1900–1906; GLEESON, *History of the Catholic Church in California*, pp. 205–208. San Francisco, 1872; cf. *The First Ecclesiastical Synod of California* by Engelhardt, in the CHR, Vol. i, pp. 30–37; SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, Vol. iv, pp. 356-357, 369, 703–708; ENGELHARDT, *Franciscans in California*, pp. 199–202, 232, 470; in the Santa Barbara Mission Archives are numerous personal letters of Alemany.

AMAT, Bishop Thaddeus (1810–1878); Bishop of Monterey (1854–1859); trans. to Los Angeles (1859–1878).

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[1]ABBREVIATIONS: ACHS (American Catholic Historical Society); ACQR (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*); CE (*Catholic Encyclopedia*); CHR (*Catholic Historical Review*).

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Blanc, Archbishop Anthony (1792–1860); Bp. of New Orleans (1835–1850); Arch. of New Orleans (1850–1860).

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Blanchet, Bishop Augustin Magliore Alexander (1797–1887); Bp. of Walla Walla (1846–1850); Bp. of Nesqually (1850–1879); resigned 1879; titular Bp. of Ibora (1879–1887).

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BLANCHET, Archbishop Francis Norbert (1795–1883). *Brother of above.* V. A. of Oregon (1843–1846); Bp. of Oregon City (1846–1850); Arch. of Oregon City (1850–1880); resigned 1880; titular Bp. of Amada (1880–1883).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, pp. 15–16; CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, pp. 438–509; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, pp. 150, 320; ACHS, *Researches*, Vol. vi, pp. 48, 188, Vol. ix, p. 183, Vol. xi, p. 158, Vol. xvi, p. 191, Vol. xxviii, p. 348; CLARKE, *op. cit.*, pp. 474–475, refers to a printed *Pastoral* of Archbishop Blanchet of Feb. 27, 1881; SHEA, *Missions and Missionaries*, pp. 470–472; DE SMET, *Letters and Sketches*, etc. Philadelphia, 1843; ID., *Origin, Progress, and Prospects of the Catholic Missions of the Rocky Mountains.* Philadelphia, 1843; ID., *Western Missions and Missionaries.* New York, 1857; BLANCHET, *Notes on the Oregon Missions;* VAN RANSSELAER, *Sketch of the Catholic Church in Montana*, in the ACQR, Vol. xvii (1887); O'HARA, *Catholic History of Oregon:* Portland, Ore., 1916, refers to *Memoirs of Most Rev. F. X. Blanchet*, by Major Mallet, and also to large collection of letters and documents by both brothers in the Archdiocesan Archives of Portland; MARSHALL, *Acquisition of Oregon*, Vol. ii, pp. 210–211. Seattle, 1911; CE, Vol. ii, pp. 593–594; CHITTENDEN-RICHARDSON, *Life, Letters, and Travels of Fr. Pierre Jean De Smet.* New York, 1905; for the Whitman affair cf. *Catholic World*, Vol. xiv (1872), p. 95; *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. viii; PALLADINO, *Indian and White in the Northwest.* Baltimore, 1894; CHR, Vol. i, pp. 182, 185–186, 381, 383, 187 (letters, etc., to the Leopoldine Association), Vol. ii, p. 428, Vol. iii, pp. 187–201 (*Catholic Pioneers of the Oregon Country*, by Edwin V. O'Hara); cf. *Dr. John McLoughlin*, by T. J. Campbell, S.J., in the *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. viii, pp. 83–116; SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church*, etc., Vol. iv, pp. 310–327; 328, 689–702; ENGELHARDT, *Missions and Missionaries*, Vol. iv, pp. 613–615.

BLENK, Archbishop James (1856–1917); Bp. of Porto Rico (1899–1906); Arch. of New Orleans (1906–1917.)

CHR, Vol. ii, p. 130; cf., *Episcopology of Porto Rico*, in the CHR, Vol. iv, pp. 348–364.

BONACUM, Bishop Thomas (1847–1911); Bp. of Lincoln, Neb. (1887–1911).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 16; CHR, Vol. iii, p. 162; CE, Vol. ix, p. 266, Vol. x, p. 733. HAYES-COX, *History of the City of Lincoln*, pp. 252–257. Lincoln, Neb., 1889; O'GORMAN, *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States*, p. 485. New York, 1895; MORTON-WATKINS, *History of Nebraska*, Vol. ii, pp. 462–464, Vol. iii, p. 398. Lincoln, 1906–1913; contemporary files of the *Omaha Bee, Omaha Herald, True Voice, Nebraska State Journal, Church Progress, Western Watchman;* cf. *True Voice*, special edition of July 14, 1911, article by Rev. M. A. Shine, *History of the Diocese of Lincoln;* cf. CE, Vol. ix, p. 266, Vol. x, p. 732.

BORGESS, Bishop Caspar Henry (1824–1890); Bp. of Detroit (1871–1887); resigned 1887; titular Bp. of Phacusites (1887–1890).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 16; CE, Vol. i, p. 685 (biog. sketch); ACHS, *Researches*, Vol. xx, 176; CHR, Vol. ii, p. 286; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 224.

BOURGADE, Archbishop Peter (1845–1908); V. A. of Arizona (1885–1897); Bp. of Tucson (1897–1899); Arch. of Santa Fe (1899–1908).

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BRADLEY, Bishop Denis Mary (1846–1903); Bp. of Manchester, N. H. (1884–1903).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 17; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 286; CE, Vol. ii, p. 727 (biog. sketch); GABRIELS, *History of Troy Seminary*. New York, 1906; KENNEY, *Centenary*, etc., p. 219; ACHS, *Researches*, Vol. xxii, p. 109; CHR, Vol. ii, p. 301; *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, Vol. ii, pp. 177–179, 471, 480, 500.

BRADY, Bishop John (1842–1910); Aux. Bp. of Boston (1891–1910).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 17; CHR, Vol. ii, p. 297; KENNEY, *Centenary*, etc., p. 198; SULLIVAN, *Catholic Church of New England, Archdiocese of Boston*. Boston, 1895; LEAHY, *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*. Boston, 1899.

BRENNAN, Bishop Thomas Francis (1853–1916); Bp. of Dallas, 1891–92; resigned 1893.

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 17; CHR, Vol. ii, pp. 137–138; *Bishop Brennan*, in the *Texas Catholic*, Vol. ii, August 6, 1892; *Dallas Diocese*, ibid., for 1891, 1892.

BRONDEL, Bishop John Baptist (1842–1903); Bp. of Vancouver[2] (1879–1883); V. A. of Montana (1883–1884); Bp. of Helena (1884–1903).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 18; CHR, Vol. i, pp. 382–383; PALLADINO, *Indian and White in the Northwest, or a History of Catholicity in Montana*, pp. 361–394. Baltimore, 1894; Palladino made use of Brondel's *Diary*, letters, etc., for this work; the *Diary* is now in the possession of the present Bishop, John Patrick Carroll; cf. files of *Catholic News* (New York), for Nov., 1903; SHEA, *Hierarchy*, etc., p. 261; VAN RENSSELAER, *Sketch of the Catholic Church in Montana*, in the ACQR, Vol. xix (1887); VAN DER HEYDEN, *History of the American College of Louvain*, p. 259. Louvain, 1909; CE, Vol. ii, p. 798 (biog. sketch); *The Catholic Sentinel* (Portland, 1870-1919), files; *The Intermountain Catholic* (Salt Lake City, 1889–1919), files; *Diocesan Archives; Diocesan Scrap-Book* (Helena Chancery); SANDERS, *History of Montana*, Vol. i, pp. 162, 568; *Records of Historical Society of Montana* (1883–1903); *Life of Father Lacombe; Life of Bishop Brondel* (in preparation).

BRUTÉ DE REMUR, Bishop Simon William Gabriel (1779–1839); Bp. of Vincennes (1834–1839).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 18; CE, Vol. iii, p. 24 (biog. sketch); ACHS, *Researches*, Vols. vi, ix, x, xii, xv, xviii, xxii, xxiii, xxix *passim;* MCSWEENY, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 8–429 *passim; Berichte* of the Leopoldine Association, Vols. i–xiii *passim;* LADY HERBERT, *Life of Bishop Brutè*. London, 1870; ALERDING,

[2]Bishop Brondel's official title was Bishop of Vancouver. But confusion will be avoided if it be remembered that he was not the Bishop of the present See of Vancouver, British Columbia, or of Vancouver, State of Washington, but of Victoria, Vancouver Island, which was his See City.

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BURKE, Bishop Thomas M. A. (1840–1915); Bp. of Albany (1894–1915).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 19; CHR, Vol. ii, p. 141; there was published an official *Souvenir of Consecration* in 1894; HERBERMANN, *op. cit.*, pp. 261, 263, 308.

BUTLER, Bishop Thaddeus (1833–1897); died in Rome, July 17, 1897, the day before that set for his consecration.

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 19; CHR, Vol. i, p. 389.

BYRNE, Bishop Andrew (1802–1862); Bp. of Little Rock (1844–1862).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, pp. 19–20; SHEA, *Hierarchy*, etc., p. 274; CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 264–272; cf. COOGAN, *History of Meath;* CE, Vol. iii, p. 93 (biog. sketch); CHR, Vol. ii, p. 133; SHEA, *History of the Catholic Church*, etc., Vol. iii, pp. 328, 508; *ibid.*, Vol. iv, pp. 28, 38, 105, 164, 229, 286–287, 678; ACH'S *Researches*, Vol. viii, p. 226, Vol. xix, p. 115; *U. S. C. H. Magazine*, Vol. iv, p. 183; MCGIRR, *Life of Bishop Quarter.* New York, 1850.

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A GREAT FRANCISCAN IN CALIFORNIA: FERMÍN FRANCISCO DE LASUÉN

Undying fame is not wholly the result of merit. Rarely have the strange pranks of history been better illustrated than in the extraordinary reputation enjoyed by Junípero Serra, first Father-President of the Franciscan missions of Alta (or present-day American) California, and the almost complete oblivion into which has passed the name of Fermín Francisco de Lasuén, a worthy rival of his illustrious predecessor in solid achievement. Both men were able, and deserving of the recognition of posterity, but Serra had two advantages which gained for him the lasting glory which it now seems impossible Lasuén will ever have. Serra was the *first* Father-President, and shares, therefore, in the glamour of the conquest. Of far greater import, however, he was so fortunate as to have a devoted friend, his fellow-Majorcan, old schoolmate, and fellow-missionary of many years, Francisco Palóu, who wrote and published a life of the great Junípero, shortly after the latter's death. Theodore Roosevelt once said: "We could better afford to lose every Greek inscription that has ever been found than the chapter in which Thucydides tells of the Athenian failure before Syracuse."[2] In a similar vein the historian Bury wrote: "The early portion of Greek history, which corresponds to the seventh and sixth centuries B. C., is inevitably distorted and placed in a false perspective through the strange limitations of our knowledge. For at that time . . . the cities of the western coast of Asia Minor formed the most important

[1] The writer wishes to acknowledge the assistance and criticism rendered in the preparation of this article by the Misses Florense V. Taylor and Doris W. Bepler.

[2] *History as Literature* (Address of the President of the American Historical Association, delivered at Boston, Dec. 27, 1912), in the *American Historical Review* for April, 1913, Vol. xviii, No. 3, pp. 473–489 at p. 478.

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and enlightened part of the Hellenic world, and of those cities in the days of their greatness we have only some disconnected glimpses. . . . The wrong, unfortunately, cannot be righted by a recognition of it. Athens and Sparta and their fellows abide in possession. *Les absents ont toujours tort.*"[3] So, too, Serra will remain famous (justly so) because of Palóu, while Lasuén cannot hope for the renown to which he is entitled, even though some later-day historian may yet piece together documentary evidence enough for a biography of this great Franciscan. Something should be done, however, to rescue Lasuén from undeserved obscurity, and it is hoped that this article may serve in a measure toward that end.

For lack of a Palóu we know little of the early life of Lasuén. He was a native of Vitoria in the Basque province of Álava,[4] a worthy representative of the race to which the upbuilding of the Spanish colonies was so greatly due.[5] The year of his birth is unknown, but it was probably about 1720.[6] Eventually, he was admitted to the Franciscan Order, and turns up in Mexico as a member of the famous missionary college of San Fernando.[7] He saw service as a missionary in the Sierra Gorda, in the region between the present-day states of Tamaulipas and Querétaro, but left there in 1767 to join the Fernandinos[8] under Father Serra, who had been charged to take over the missions of the Cal-

[3] BURY, JOHN BAGNELL, *A History of Greece* (London, 1900), p. vii.

[4] BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886), Vol. ii, p. 9, n. 12.

[5] Cf. CHANDLER, CHARLES LYON, *Inter-American Acquaintances* (Sewanee, Tenn., 2 ed., 1917), pp. 170-178, on the Basques in Spanish America.

[6] This is the opinion of Hittell (HITTELL, THEODORE H., *History of California* [San Francisco, 1885], Vol. i, p. 454), which agrees with Vancouver's estimate, made in 1792, that Lasuén was "about 72 years of age." (VANCOUVER, GEORGE, *A Voyage of Discovery to the North Pacific Ocean and Round the World* [London, 2 ed., 1801], Vol. iii, p. 56.)

[7] This institution was a college in the present-day sense only in that it served as a training-school for missionaries. It was also the administrative center for missionary work done by the friars of the college and a home to which they retired when relieved from their labors in the field. It was an off-shoot of the College (*Colegio de propaganda fide*) of Querétaro, which had been established in 1683. (BANCROFT, HUBERT HOWE, *History of Mexico* [San Francisco, 1887], Vol. iii, pp. 714-715). The *Colegio de propaganda fide* of San Fernando was founded in 1734. (ENGELHARDT, ZEPHYRIN, *The Missions and Missionaries of California* [San Francisco, 1908], Vol. i, pp. 614-617 [Appendix F, *Apostolic Colleges*] at p. 615).

[8] Franciscans of the College of San Fernando.

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ifornias in succession to the Jesuits.[9] It was not until April, 1768, that Serra and his band reached Loreto across the Gulf, where Father Junípero at once proceeded to assign posts to the missionaries who had accompanied him.[10]

The Spanish settlements in the Californias at this time were confined to the peninsula of Baja California, mostly to the lower half, with Loreto, the military and religious capital, about in the center of the occupied part. There were fifteen missions at the time of the transfer from the Jesuits to the Fernandinos, but this number was soon reduced to thirteen. In anticipation of the occupation of Alta California, which took place in 1769, another mission, San Fernando de Velicatá, was founded in the extreme northern reaches of the peninsula. By far the most important of the missions and, with the exception of the presently to be founded Velicatá, the most northerly among them was that of San Francisco de Borja. It is a tribute to Father Lasuén that he was directed to take charge of this mission. The task which confronted him was very difficult. On the departure of the Jesuits, military commissaries had been placed in charge of the missions, and they had spent more time searching for the supposed hidden wealth of the Jesuits than in promoting the welfare of the missions. As a result the missions had fallen away, and they were still further impoverished by being drawn upon for supplies for the expeditions of 1769 to Alta California. Naturally, the distant post of Borja was among the last to receive aid for its rehabilitation. The condition of affairs there and the good sense of Father Lasuén are both illustrated by certain correspondence between him and the powerful royal representative, José de Gálvez, at that time temporarily in the peninsula, the letters bearing date between September, 1768, and February, 1769.

Gálvez had published an edict against gambling, and directed Lasuén to see that it was observed at the mission. Gálvez also suggested the advisability of giving tobacco to the Indians

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[9] Palou, Francisco, *Noticias de la Nueva California* (San Francisco, 1874), Vol. i, p. 7. The Jesuits had just been ordered expelled from all Spanish dominions, by decree of the king of Spain.

[10] Bancroft, Hubert Howe, *North Mexican States and Texas* (San Francisco, 1886), Vol. i, p. 484.

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to gain their good will. Lasuén replied that he would comply with Gálvez's directions, but as a matter of fact the vice of gambling did not exist at Borja, and the Indians used tobacco only as snuff, and for that but sparingly. The real need at Borja was not reform or tobacco, but food and clothing, for "my children are most numerous, and hungry, and naked." In the five months (from May to October, 1768) that he had been in charge of the mission he had not received a grain of aid from anywhere. The letter impressed Gálvez, but in a most extraordinary way. He wrote to Lasuén that he proposed to relieve his necessities by deporting many of his neophytes to the better supplied missions of the south. It is somewhat strange that the experienced Father Serra should have endorsed this plan, which failed to take into account the extreme conservatism of the Indian in clinging to his native surroundings, however mean they may be. Gálvez went on to say that two boats were to be despatched north at once to get the Indian families designated by Lasuén for the southern missions. Lasuén was wholly opposed to this arrangement, but his answer to Gálvez's letter was a model for tact. Instead of making a stormy protest, he pointed out that the plan, though "very just and necessary," was "at this time exposed to many difficulties and more or less impossible of execution." The Indians of his mission were "still untamed and new in Christianity," wherefore it would be "very difficult to make them comprehend the great utility which would come to them from the change and the favorable advantages which you offer them." When one of the boats arrived to take away some of the Indians, Lasuén informed the captain that he would await further orders from Gálvez before embarking them. The correspondence closes with a letter from Gálvez recognizing the correctness of Father Lasuén's stand, and approving his suspension of the sending of the Indians from Borja.[11]

No connected account can yet be given of Lasuén's five year term as the missionary of San Francisco de Borja, although some more or less fragmentary records are at hand. Lasuén's problem, as indeed was that of the other Baja California missionaries, was not so much to build up his mission as to keep it from

[11] ENGELHARDT, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 314-319.

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going to pieces. This he did, in the face of discouraging circumstances. It is said that there were 1,500 neophytes within the jurisdiction of the Borja mission at the time the Jesuits were dispossessed, some five hundred more than any other had.[12] From a report by Father Lasuén, dated August 31, 1770, it appears that there were 172 Indians at the mission, in addition to the sick who came in from the neighboring Indian villages. The greater number of the Christian Indians, however, lived in six Indian towns, or *visitas*, periodically visited by Father Lasuén for religious purposes. Two years before, in a detailed and exact report to Gálvez, who had issued a decree, dated July 12, 1768, asking information about the missions, Lasuén had stated that in his opinion there were 1,616 or 1,618[13] Indians under him. Since that time he had baptized 226 persons and 324 had died. By subtracting the excess of deaths over baptisms one should arrive at the number now in his charge—that is, 1,518 or 1,520.[14] A year later, in August, 1771, Lasuén reported that 401 persons had thus far been baptized during his stay at the mission, and so far as was known there was not a single pagan left in the whole district. There were then 1,479 persons under his rule, of whom 184 were at the mission, where it was not possible to take more because of the scarcity of water and cultivable land. The mission was moderately well stocked with domestic animals. There were about 500 head of cattle, 215 horses, 43 mules, 3 asses, 1,700 sheep, and 930 goats. Father Lasuén had planted vineyards, fig and pomegranate trees, and some cotton. The cotton was used at the mission in the manufacture of shawls for the Indians, and blankets were made of wool.[15] In May, 1773, when the Dominicans succeeded to the Franciscan missions of the peninsula, statistics showed that there were at Borja 1,000 persons, 648 cattle, 387 horses and mules, 2,343 sheep, and 1,003 goats. The importance of the mission stands forth the more clearly when it appears that there were but 4,268 persons and 14,716

[12] Clavigero, Francisco Javier, *Storia della California* (Venice, 1789), Vol. ii, p. 185.

[13] Engelhardt (*op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 386) wrongly states the number as "one thousand and sixteen souls."

[14] Lasuén to Palóu, August 31, 1770, in Bancroft Library, *Archivo de la Mision de Santa Bárbara*, Vol. i, pp. 29–33.

[15] Palou, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 175–178.

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domestic animals in all fourteen missions of Baja California. Thus, San Francisco de Borja, though by no means a favored spot, had under its control nearly a fourth of all the Indians in the missions and more than a fourth of the domestic animals.[16]

A still more eloquent commentary on the services of Father Lasuén at San Francisco de Borja might be made if it were possible to go into the intimate details of his private life. During five years he had been the sole missionary at that mission. Commenting on Lasuén's expressed wish for a second missionary there, Bancroft says: "We can in some degree imagine the desolate loneliness of a padre's life at a frontier mission; but the reality must have been far worse than anything our fancy can picture. These friars were mostly educated, in many cases learned, men; not used to nor needing the bustle of city life, but wanting, as they did their daily food, intelligent companionship. They were not alone in the strictest sense of the word, for there were enough people around them. But what were these people? —ignorant, lazy, dirty, sulky, treacherous, half-tamed savages, with whom no decent man could have anything in common. Even the almost hopeless task of saving their miserable souls must have required a martyr for its performance."[17] But there were material discomforts as well. Writing from Alta California in April, 1774, nearly a year after his departure from the peninsula, Lasuén begged to be relieved from the great hardship he was undergoing for lack of wearing apparel, which had already reached the point of indecency. His clothes, he said, had been in continuous use for more than five years. He had mended them until they no longer admitted of it, and, moreover, he no longer had materials for sewing. Referring somewhat humorously in another letter to his need for clothing, Lasuén said that it was perhaps on that account that the Indians cared for him so much, on the principle that like attracts like, for he resembled them much in scantiness of wardrobe.[18]

[16] CHAPMAN, CHARLES E., *The Founding of Spanish California* (New York, 1916), pp. 308-309. After Lasuén's departure the Borja mission declined at an alarming rate. In 1800 the total number of Indians under its direction was 400, and there were but 31 head of cattle, 130 horses and mules, and 1,000 sheep and goats. (BANCROFT, *N. M. St. and Tex.*, Vol. i, p. 762. n. 55).

[17] *N. M. St. and Tex.*, Vol. i, p. 729, n. 5.

[18] CHAPMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

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When the Baja California missions were turned over to the Dominicans, eight of the Fernandinos, presumably the most capable among them, were directed to proceed to Alta California[19] where a number of presidios and missions had been established, the latter under the presidency of Father Serra, since the Spanish occupation of 1769. Lasuén was one of the friars ordered to the northern province. The missionaries left the peninsula in charge of Father Palóu, who for several years had served as president of the Baja California missions, escorted by a military force under Sergeant José de Ortega. The party reached San Francisco de Borja on June 22, 1773, and left there next day, thus bringing Lasuén's long ministry at that mission to an end.[20] En route north they made the first attempt that ever was made to run the boundary between the two Californias. The line of division had been agreed upon in Mexico in May, 1772.[21] In accord with that decision Palóu and his party raised a cross, on August 19, 1773, to mark the boundary between the Dominicans and Fernandinos. The line was some five leagues north of the *arroyo* of San Juan Bautista and fifteen south of San Diego, a number of miles below the present boundary. Eleven days later the party reached San Diego in Alta California.[22]

It is not surprising that Lasuén was assigned to the mission at San Gabriel. This had been founded in 1771, and gave promise of being the best site of all the missions from the standpoint of pastoral and agricultural possibilities. Hopes had not yet been realized, however, due in a measure to trouble with the Indians, caused by the improper conduct of Spanish soldiers.[23] Lasuén was the right man to bring prosperity to San Gabriel. He set out for his mission at once, and took up his duties there in September, 1773. The time was the least propitious possible, for the great eight months' famine which all but caused the abandonment of Alta California was already at its height. Sup-

[19] HITTELL, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 364.

[20] *Ibid;* also ENGELHARDT, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 487.

[21] CHAPMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 118. In 1775 this was accepted by the Council of the Indies as the official line. (*Ibid*, n. 59.)

[22] BANCROFT, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. i, p. 195.

[23] CHAPMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 101, 107, 123–125.

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plies from New Spain reached San Diego on March 13, 1774, but it was not until some time later that San Gabriel was relieved.[24] Meanwhile, the first overland expedition to reach Alta California[25] arrived at San Gabriel on March 22, 1774, under the command of Captain Juan Bautista de Anza, having made an arduous journey from Sonora by way of the Colorado Desert.[26] This made matters worse for a while, since Anza, too, lacked supplies, but it meant an increased importance for San Gabriel, which henceforth was the first settlement in the province reached by those taking the overland route from Sonora.

Father Lasuén, already past middle life, had wished to retire to the College of San Fernando instead of coming to Alta California, but, on being informed that he could not be spared, resigned himself to remaining in the province.[27] He was destined never to leave, serving continuously in Alta California for thirty years. Little more need be said of his stay at San Gabriel. By the close of 1774 it was already the most prosperous of the missions.[28] Furthermore, the troubles with Indians had been overcome. A more serious task was now at hand. The march between San Diego and San Gabriel had always been difficult, owing to the treacherous character of the Indians.[29] Fathers Lasuén and Gregorio Amurrio were designated, in August, 1775, to found a mission between these two, to be called San Juan Capistrano. Lasuén, who was in Monterey at the time, made the long journey to San Diego,[30] and then turned back with Ortega, now a lieutenant, to make explorations for a site. In October, Lasuén formally inaugurated the mission. Father Amurrio soon arrived, and prospects seemed excellent, for the natives were well disposed, but after only a few days there came news of a great Indian uprising at San Diego. Ortega was therefore obliged to leave for San Diego, and advised the two

[24] *Ibid*, pp. 252-253.

[25] The journeys from Baja California cannot be so styled. The peninsula was merely part of a route, the first portions of which included the voyage across the Gulf of California.

[26] CHAPMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 276–280.

[27] *Ibid.*, p. 253.

[28] BANCROFT, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. i, p. 239.

[29] CHAPMAN, *op. cit.*, 329.

[30] About 500 miles.

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friars to give up the mission. This seemed the part of good sense; so the mission bells were buried, and the place was abandoned.[31] Not long afterward, however, it was reoccupied.

The San Diego revolt of 1775 was the most serious attempt the Indians of Alta California ever made to drive the Spaniards out of the province. Suffice to say here that the revolt was a failure, despite the wide ramifications of the league against the Spaniards.[32] Because of the underlying seriousness of the situation, however, and especially because the Indians of San Diego had always been disposed to be troublesome, the presence at the mission of the most able friars in the province was imperative, to supplement the work of the soldiers of the presidial establishment near by. Father Lasuén was, therefore, called upon to remain at San Diego.

For a year after Lasuén's arrival at San Diego there were troubles in connection with the late revolt—troubles between the friars and Governor Rivera, rather than with the Indians. The former wished to follow a policy of conciliation, as opposed to the more stringent, long-continued measures of repression undertaken by the governor. These incidents may be passed over here with the remark that the friars were eventually sustained by the viceroy of New Spain. Father Lasuén remained at San Diego during the rest of Serra's presidency (ending with Serra's death, on August 28, 1784) and during the brief term of his successor, Father Palóu. Meanwhile, affairs at San Diego had progressed smoothly; the earlier hostile attitude of the Indians did not again manifest itself.

Palóu's succession to the presidency of the missions was understood to be temporary, for he had already asked permission to retire to the College of San Fernando. Permission was granted, and probably in September, 1785, Palóu departed for Mexico, where in the following year he became Father Superior of the college. The appointment of Lasuén as president of the missions was dated February 6, 1785, but it was not received in Alta California until September, when his long period of service at San Diego came officially to an end.[33]

[31] Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. i, pp. 248-249.

[32] Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 352-355.

[33] Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. i, pp. 416-417; Engelhardt, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 404-405.

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A detailed account of the achievements of Lasuén as Father-President of the missions would involve giving a history of the province during the eighteen years of his term. For the purposes of this article it seems better to select some phases of his work and character for treatment. First, however, it is necessary to give some idea of the power of a Father-President, showing the relation of that office to the general authority exercised in the province by the Spanish state.

Few writers on California history have been acquainted with even the bare rudiments of Spanish colonial administration. Most of them fail altogether to understand the relationship of the religious and the military establishments. Thus, many have referred to Father Serra as the conqueror and ruler of Alta California, and yet more have discussed the "conflicts between church and state" in the province. The clue to an accurate estimate of affairs is an understanding of the *Real Patronato* (royal patronage) of the Spanish kings. Briefly put, the kings of Spain exercised extraordinary authority over the temporal management of the Church in Spanish America as a result of various grants by the popes. Churchmen, from archbishops and other high functionaries down to priests or friars, were the appointees of the king or his sub-delegates. It was the king or his representatives who erected churches and convents, paid the salaries of churchmen, gave orders affecting the field of their labors, and in fine managed the affairs of the religious establishment in everything save in matters pertaining to the spiritual character of the profession. Thus, when the Franciscans entered Alta California, they went there because ordered to do so by Gálvez and the viceroy, even though the Father Superior of the College of San Fernando was opposed to the undertaking.[34] Occasionally, the mission presidents in Spanish colonies were granted exceptional authority. That was true of the Jesuit leaders in Baja California prior to their expulsion in 1767; there the Jesuit rectors were indeed responsible, under the viceroy of New Spain, for all that was done, for they headed the military and political establishment as well as the religious. This wide power was never exercised by Alta California Father-Presidents, though

[34] CHAPMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

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doubtless many of them desired to approximate it as nearly as possible. They had religious authority only, while the military and political power resided in the governor.[35]

The Father-Presidents and the governors were to a certain extent independent of each other, but both were subject to the viceroy of New Spain, or to the commandant-general of the Provincias Internas[36] during part of the time after 1776. Save for the higher authority of the political rulers of New Spain and the Father-Superior of San Fernando (who was himself a subordinate, in a measure, of the viceroy), the Father-President held absolute power over the missionaries of his flock. They in turn exercised an almost absolute control over their individual missions. In theory they were mere administrators on behalf of the Indians until such time as the latter should become Christian and civilized. In fact, and necessarily (owing to the utter incompetence of the Indians), they directed the affairs of the missions, as would a father of a family, aided by Indian *alcaldes* who were elected by the Indians, but were virtually the appointees of the missionaries. The corporals at the missions had jurisdiction, under the governor, over the four or five soldiers of the mission guard and criminal jurisdiction over the Indians. This, almost the only authority outstanding from the friars, was a fruitful source of quarrels with the governors, who often insisted on the independence of the mission guard, while the missionaries held that it should be subordinate to their wishes. The Father-President was not empowered to take action on his own responsibility, but could only administer the missions as they were, and in accord with orders. He could, however, make recommendations for action directly to the viceroy himself. Thus, the founding of missions was not a matter for the Father-President or the college to decide, but must be authorized by the high officials of state in New Spain.

[35] Down to 1777, when Felipe de Neve took up his residence in Monterey, the governors of the Californias had resided in Loreto, Baja California. Theoretically under them, but actually more or less independent, were the lieutenant-governors in Alta California. After 1777 the lieutenant-governor resided in Baja California. The two provinces continued to be regarded as one until 1804, when their political separation was ordered.

[36] The northern, or frontier, provinces of New Spain, which became a separate jurisdiction from the vice royalty in 1776.

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In fine, therefore, a dual power was established in Alta California. When the two elements clashed, as it was inevitable they should, the governor usually had the advantage, for he commanded the troops of the province and as a military man might expect to get a more sympathetic hearing from the viceroy or commandant-general, who were usually soldiers, too. But the friars, as a result of their intellectual attainments and the unselfishness of their pretensions, were often able to attain their objects. Furthermore, they were the only element in the province with economic resources at their command, for the missions produced almost all that was raised in Alta California during the Spanish period. The Father-Presidents were not the sole rulers of Alta California, but they are entitled to be considered with the governors as one of the two ruling elements in the province.

One of the principal objects of the Fernandinos, and of Fathers Serra and Lasuén in particular, was the founding of new missions, whereby more souls might be saved and Alta California placed on a sounder material basis. Of the twenty-one Fernandino missions, nine each were founded during the presidencies of Serra and Lasuén. Serra had long wished to establish a number of missions in the populous region bordering the Santa Barbara Channel, and authority for so doing was early received from New Spain. It was not until 1782, however, that the first of the missions, that of San Buenaventura, was founded, the last of Serra's nine. One of the earliest acts of Lasuén's regime was to add two more. The Father-President himself, now in his sixty-sixth year, went to the presidio of Santa Barbara,[37] and superintended the founding of a mission near by. On December 4, 1786, this mission, Santa Barbara, at the present day the most famous of all the twenty-one, was formally dedicated.[38] A year later, on December 8, 1787, Lasuén in person inaugurated the mission of Purísima Concepción at a point previously selected by Governor Fages, thus completing the Channel missions, although actual work at the new establishment did not begin until 1788.[39] Next, steps were taken to found two missions

[37] Founded in 1782.

[38] BANCROFT, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. i, p. 423.

[39] *Ibid*, Vol. i, pp. 424-425.

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between San Carlos of Monterey and Santa Clara, but clear authorization therefor was not received until July, 1791. Lasuén acted with customary promptness. Both sites had already been explored, but Lasuén decided to see them himself. He found that of Santa Cruz all that had been claimed for it, and dedicated the mission there on August 28, 1791.[40] The sites chosen for the other mission, Soledad, were not approved by Lasuén, who himself selected the spot for the founding. On October ninth, Lasuén was on hand to raise the cross at Soledad.[41]

The governors and the friars had long wished for additional missions somewhat farther inland, though west of the Coast Range, with the idea of reducing all the Indians of the coast districts between San Diego and San Francisco. Besides giving more converts to the faith this would remove the last vestige of Indian peril in the region under Spanish control. Governor Borica was particularly active in cooperating with Father Lasuén to achieve this end. The year 1795 was largely taken up with careful explorations for mission sites, and in the following year the viceroy authorized the founding of the five missions asked for. By May, 1797, everything was ready. Then followed the most remarkable era of mission-founding in the history of the province. Serra in 1771, and Lasuén in 1791, had established two missions in a single year. Now, Lasuén from June to September established no fewer than four, followed in June, 1798, by the erection of a fifth. At the inauguration of all these missions Father Lasuén presided in person, dedicating San José[42] on June 11, 1797, San Juan Bautista on June 24, San Miguel on July 25, San Fernando Rey on September 8, and San Luis Rey on June 13 of the following year. In so doing Father Lasuén had to traverse the whole occupied sphere of the province, some five hundred miles or more in length, enduring hardships which can hardly be appreciated in this day and age of luxurious travel. Verily, for a man in his seventy-seventh or seventy-eighth year Father Lasuén might have been pardoned

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[40] *Ibid*, Vol. i, pp. 491–493.

[41] *Ibid*, Vol. i, pp. 492, 498-499.

[42] A number of miles north of the *pueblo* which gave the name to the present-day city of San Jose.

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for feeling a high degree of self-satisfaction over his achievement, though there is no evidence to the effect that he did.[43]

Yet, Father Lasuén rendered perhaps even more distinguished service as an administrator than as a founder of missions. Not only must the new missions be placed upon a durable footing, but the old ones had also to be maintained. A right to administer the sacrament of confirmation had been granted to Serra for ten years. This ceased with his death, in 1784, at which time he had confirmed 5,309 persons. Lasuén was the only other Father-President to receive this right. It was granted for ten years in 1785, but was not forwarded to Lasuén until 1790. In the five-year period remaining to him he confirmed about 9,000 persons.[44] He also exercised other powers which ordinarily would have been in the hands of the secular clergy. Since there were no other priests in Alta California the missionaries had administered the sacraments and performed other religious services for the Spanish population, though this was not a part of their regular duties. In 1796 the Bishop of Sonora, unasked, conferred on Lasuén the titles of *Vicario Foráneo* and *Vicario Castrense*, whereby he was authorized to administer the customary sacraments other than that of confirmation to the civilian and military elements respectively. At the same time he was made *Juez Eclesiástico*, or ecclesiastical judge, for such cases as might ordinarily be tried in a church court. All of these powers he was allowed to delegate to his subordinates, which Lasuén accordingly proceeded to do.[45] In 1795, too, Lasuén had been appointed commissary of the Inquisition of Mexico. As such he had occasion to publish a few edicts forwarded to him from Mexico, and once "confiscated and forwarded to the capital four copies of a forbidden game called El Eusébio."[46] These new duties added considerable to Lasuén's responsibilities, for by his own account the Spanish settlers were careless about observance of certain precepts of the Church, such as those of

[43] BANCROFT, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. i, pp. 550–564.

[44] *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 328.

[45] ENGELHARDT, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 541-542. BANCROFT (*Hist. Cal.*, Vol. i, pp. 578-579) states that these powers were "renewed" in 1796 by a new bishop, implying that they had been granted before.

[46] ENGELHARDT, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 542-543.

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annual confession and receiving communion at Easter.[47] Yet, the old Father-President was far from being overwhelmed by his labors. In 1797, after he had just completed the founding of the four missions established in that year, Governor Borica, who regarded the achievement as extraordinary, complimented him, and observed that he must have renewed his youthful vigor by bathing in the holy waters of another Jordan.[48]

There is another side to Father Lasuén's administration deserving of comment in this connection. Whenever there was anything important to be done, he went himself to attend to it. His official headquarters were at San Carlos of Monterey, but his tours were so frequent that he was rarely there for any length of time.

It was during Lasuén's rule, too, that a forward step was taken in the economic development of the missions. In addition to the normal development in agriculture and stock-raising as well as in the number of the Indians living at the missions.[49] the neophytes received instruction in the trades of the artisan beyond anything they had had before. The friars had already taught their wards all they knew, but desired to perfect them in their employments and make the missions independent of the supply ships from New Spain as much as possible.[50] Acting probably at Lasuén's suggestion Governor Fages wrote to the viceroy in 1787, asking that carpenters, smiths, masons, and other artisans be sent to Alta California to instruct the Indians.[51] About twenty were sent, at royal expense, mostly between 1792 and 1795, on four or five year contracts. A few remained permanently in the province, but most returned to New Spain on the expiration of their contracts.[52] Much of the economic advance of the missions may be attributed to their coming. One wonders, too, how much of the improvement in mission architecture was due to the building or the reconstruction effected by them. Certainly the missions of the earliest days were rude structures,

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[47] *Ibid.*, Vol. ii, pp. 543-544.
[48] HITTELL, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 488.
[49] Cf. CHAPMAN, *op. cit.*, pp. 427-428.
[50] ENGELHARDT, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 534-535.
[51] CHAPMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 429.
[52] BANCROFT, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. i, p. 615.

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while those of the period of Father Lasuén have been almost solely responsible for the "mission style" which is such a characteristic note in the present-day architecture of California.

It is necessary to deal with one other phase of Lasuén's rule, that of his relations with the governors and presidial commanders of the province. Disputes between the religious and the military were a chronic feature of Spanish colonial administration everywhere. Neither element can justly be charged with fault for this situation; it was inherent in the dual system of government employed, where powers were either too loosely defined, or else too specifically stated in some instances which did not fit actual circumstances. Unless both elements were disposed to get along, quarrels were sure to result, and even when they wished to avoid trouble, differences very often occurred. Father Serra was almost incessantly at outs with every governor of the province. He managed best, perhaps, with Pedro Fages during the latter's second term, and yet this same governor had at an earlier time lost his post as a result of Serra's complaints to the viceroy.

Lasuén was fortunate in that the governors with whom he had to deal (Fages, Roméu, Arrillaga, Borica, and Alberni) were reasonable men, eager to have affairs run smoothly when possible. Fages was hot-tempered, but warm-hearted and incapable of harboring a grievance against anybody. He had had many quarrels with Serra, but his long experience as governor and Lasuén's tactfulness enabled him to get over some rough spots in his relations with Lasuén. Borica and Lasuén were devoted friends, but even they could not avoid disputes. One great source of trouble was the provision recommended by Governor Neve in 1779 that in the new missions about to be erected along the Santa Barbara Channel and in others projected for farther inland the friars should exercise merely spiritual jurisdiction, allowing the natives to live in their own towns and make their living in their own way; by this plan it was also hoped to reduce the number of missionaries at a mission from two to one.[53] Lasuén himself wrote to the Father Superior of San Fernando protesting against the change. As his letter throws

[53] ENGELHARDT, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 330-335.

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light both on his own character and the hard task of the missionaries in general, it seems worth while to quote some portions of it. With reference to a plan to form the missions into *custodias* under secular control [subject to the newly-appointed bishop of Sonora], Lasuén expressed himself in conformity, since it had the sanction of the Church. It might also serve as "a means for me to depart from this government and this work."[54] As for the Neve plan, if that was to be put into effect without recourse to the Council of the Indies, "I would, without delay and with a clear conscience, do all I could to seize any opportunity which might present itself to retire to the college. . . . This measure, in my private opinion, without setting myself up against the views of others, though they may applaud it, has little of the religious in it, and is reprehensibly full of zeal to save money for the royal treasury. . . . In fine," said Lasuén, after stating the difficult task of the missionaries, "this [new] system would consign a religious to a life that was more than tiresome, to sickness without assistance, and death without sacraments. . . . I cannot believe that His Catholic Majesty likes it, wishes, or will permit that a poor friar suffer such pitiful and grievous desolation, or that he will agree to this unbearable lack of a priest in one's greatest distress, when the friars, in order to serve the king, have deprived themselves of the very delightful company of so many people, or do I think that he will see them left without the help of anyone, when they themselves are being sacrificed for the sake of all. For me the solitude of this occupation is a cruel and terrible enemy which has struck me heavily, like a blow. I escaped from it, thank God, after evident risk of dying on account of it, and now that I see its shadow again, even from afar, I am full of trembling at the mere prospect of having to return to the struggle . . . for it is possible that this misfortune, which I fear worse than death, may fall to my lot. Therefore, if this measure is not revoked, I again declare my positive and supreme repugnance to this religious task, and ask insistently that I be relieved, relying on [the rights granted by] . . . our Franciscan law . . . I would beg, and I do beg,

[54] As a man Lasuén never desired to stay in the Californias. As a religious he accepted with resignation the duty imposed upon him.

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leave to go to my province in the Order, or to attach myself to any other whatsoever in the world, for all the evils of any character, save that of sin, seem less to me than that of being alone in this ministry."[55] It will be noticed that Lasuén's protest was very far from being an act of rebellion. The law of his Order gave gave him rights in the matter, and he implied that he would obey if the Council of the Indies or the king should sustain the measure. The horror with which he recalled his service as the sole missionary at Borja and a lurking fear of insanity if he should be required to perform a similar task again seem to underlie his resistance to the plan. And what wonder that he should have felt that way!

As for the change itself, it was not actually put into effect, but the question was raised at the outset of Lasuén's presidency, with respect to the two missions proposed to be founded along the Santa Barbara Channel. The Neve *reglamento* had never been revoked, except that the plan for but a single missionary seems to have been overruled. Even this variation from the original plan was not certainly known in Alta California. It was now directed that the new missions should conform to the Neve arrangement. On the other hand Lasuén received orders from the Father Superior of San Fernando not to found them except upon the old basis. Here then was a situation that had been created neither by Fages nor by Lasuén. Yet, between them they handled it so that it has left but a scant trace on the local records of Alta California. Lasuén had his way without quarreling, and it was tacitly agreed that the missions should be founded on the old basis.[56]

Meanwhile a controvery had been started, prior to Lasuén's installation in office, between Fages and Palóu. This was brought to a head by charges against the Fernandinos made by Fages in September, 1785. It is not necessary here to go into the charges, which were somewhat trivial, but it may be said that Lasuén, upon whom it devolved to draw up the answer, refuted them in a dignified and convincing manner, which virtually settled the dispute. In his report, which he was directing

[55] Lasuén to Francisco Pangua, undated, but probably of the year 1784, in Bancroft Library, *Documentos para la Historia de California*, Vol. iv, pp. 43–50.

[56] Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. i, p. 422.

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to the commandant-general of the Provincias Internas, he reverted to the single missionary plan: "I shall not hesitate to give information conducive to that end, if they order me to do so or ask my advice, to the effect that I am utterly opposed, particularly on my own account, as much as it is possible to be opposed, to the project of being alone in a mission. I shall offer myself for any kind of suffering and to die in these parts, as soon as God may order it, but I am certain that there will never be a man who can convince me that I must subject myself to that solitude in this ministry. It seems that this plan has either been abolished or silently passed over, on which account I say no more, but I shall do so whenever occasion demands it."[57]

The dispute between Lasuén and Fages came for solution before the highest authorities in New Spain and Spain, occupying a measure of their attention for a number of years. At length, it was decided, in 1793, to drop the matter.[58] Through Lasuén's skilful management it had died a natural death in Alta California. Thus we find Fages, in his general report of 1787 about the missions, speaking in the highest terms of the missionaries, and nowhere saying anything derogatory of them. One paragraph of this document, though it does not refer directly to Father Lasuén, is worth quoting: "If we are to be just to all [the Fernandinos], as we ought to be, we must confess that the rapid, gratifying, and interesting progress, both spiritual and temporal, which we fortunately are able to see and enjoy in this vast new country, is the glorious effect of the apostolic zeal, activity, and indefatigable ardor of their religious."[59] It would have been difficult for the average individual to speak in this generous manner, unless he were on good terms with those of whom he was speaking. Lasuén must have persuaded Fages to bury the hatchet.

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[57] Lasuén to Jacobo Ugarte y Loyola, undated, but certified at Monterey as a correct copy on October 25, 1787, in Bancroft Library, *Archivo de la Mision de Santa Bárbara*, Vol. viii, pp. 47–70, especially at pp. 60-61.

[58] CHAPMAN, CHARLES E., *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest* (Berkeley, 1919), p. 625, item 5280, and documents cited there.

[59] FAGES, *Informe Gral. sobre Misiones*, undated, but of the year 1787, in Bancroft Library, *Archives of California, State Papers, Missions and Colonization*, Vol. i, pp. 124–154, expecially at p. 144, par. 28.

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A number of differences arose even in the time of Governor Borica. When the Spanish *pueblo* of Branciforte (modern Santa Cruz) was founded near the mission of Santa Cruz, Lasuén and the other Fernandinos protested. The viceroy sustained Borica, however, and Lasuén had the good sense not to insist upon his point of view.[60] Questions arose also over the instruction of neophytes (mission Indians) by the artisans sent from Mexico, the use of neophytes in pursuit of others who had run away from the missions, and the election of Indian *alcaldes* at the missions. These matters were arranged without undue friction, so that the letter of the law was complied with, but the missionaries were allowed to carry on their affairs much as they had before.[61]

Such differences as these came to the fore now and then to the end of Lasuén's rule and, indeed, thereafter, for they were inseparable from the system of government employed. One of Lasuén's last acts was to assist in defeating an attempt to revive Neve's mission plan. In 1802, he prepared a report opposing the project. The viceroy accepted his conclusions, and the change in the mission system did not take place.[62]

It may fairly be said, however, that Lasuén was able both to maintain harmony with the military and to have his own way in the management of the missions. All his contemporaries spoke highly, even enthusiastically, of him. There can be no doubt that his lovable traits as a man contributed appreciably to his success as an administrator. The sweetness and nobility of his character is attested by foreigners and by Spaniards alike, whose comments are all the more worthy of credence in that they wrote under circumstances which did not require them to set down other than what they really felt. The great French navigator, Lapérouse, visited Monterey in September, 1786. In his description of the province he inclined to disapprove of the mission system, but spoke warmly of the wise and pious conduct of the missionaries. Of the Father-President he says: "Father Fermín de Lasuén, president of the missions of New California,

[60] BANCROFT, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. i, pp. 568-572.

[61] Numerous references to these and other matters appear in BANCROFT, ENGELHARDT, and HITTELL, *q. v.*

[62] ENGELHARDT, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 585-590.

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is one of the most worthy of esteem and respect of all the men I have ever met. His sweetness of temper, his benevolence, and his love for the Indians are beyond expression."[63] This tribute is the more striking in that Lapérouse was in Alta California at the time when the quarrel between Fages and Lasuén which began the latter's presidency was at its height. Lapérouse mentions this as follows: "The missionaries, who are so pious, so worthy of respect, are already in open quarrel with the governor, who for his part seemed to me to be a loyal soldier."[64] Thus, Lapérouse, who here and elsewhere evinced his liking for Fages, was not blinded to the merits of the friars, and was able to give the enthusiastic praise of Lasuén quoted above.

Perhaps even more remarkable is the tribute given by the English navigator, Vancouver. Referring to his first meeting with Lasuén, on the occasion of a visit to the mission of San Carlos in December, 1792, Vancouver says: "Our reception at the mission could not fail to convince us of the joy and satisfaction we communicated to the worthy and reverend fathers, who in return made the most hospitable offers of every refreshment their homely abode afforded. On our arrival at the entrance of the Mission the bells were rung, and the Rev. Fermin Francisco de Lasuen, father president of the missionaries of the order of St. Francisco in New Albion,[65] together with the fathers of this mission, came out to meet us, and conduct us to the principal residence of the father president. This personage was about seventy-two years of age, whose gentle manners, united to a most venerable and placid countenance, indicated that tranquilized state of mind, that fitted him in an eminent degree for presiding over so benevolent an institution."[66] So impressed was he by the Father-President that in November, 1793, he gave his name, not once but twice, to the points at the extremities of the Bay of San Pedro, near Los Angeles.[67] These names, "Point Fermin" and "Point Lasuen," are still retained on modern maps. The

[63] Lapérouse, Jean François de Galaup, Comte de, *Voyage de La Pérouse autour du Monde* (Paris, 1798), Vol. ii, p. 300, note.

[64] *Ibid*, Vol. ii, p. 299.

[65] Drake's name for the coast of the Californias, which with Brittanic persistence Vancouver insisted on employing in place of the Spanish name.

[66] Vancouver, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, p. 56.

[67] *Ibid*, Vol. iv, pp. 351–353.

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following month, while at San Diego, Vancouver met Lasuén, who had just reached that port during one of his journeys to visit the missions in his charge. Vancouver had been prevented from sailing by unfavorable winds, "but," he says, "I did not regret the detention as it afforded us the pleasure of a visit from our very highly esteemed and venerable friend the father president of the missionaries." Lasuén wished to send to San Juan Capistrano for supplies to "add abundantly to our stock of refreshments," and Vancouver, who expressed himself as "not less thankful for these offices of kindness as convinced of the sincerity with which they were made," states that he "had great difficulty to prevail on the father president to desist from sending to St. Juan's for the supplies he had proposed." Finally, Vancouver writes: "The enjoyment of the society of this worthy character was of short duration; it, however, afforded me the satisfaction of personally acknowledging the obligations we were under for the friendly services that had been conferred upon us, by the missionaries under his immediate direction and government; being perfectly assured, that however well disposed the several individuals might have been to have shewn us the kind attention we had received, the cordial interest with which the father president had, on all occasions, so warmly espoused our interests, must have been of no small importance to our comfort. This consideration, in addition to the esteem I had conceived for his character, induced me to solicit his acceptance of a handsome barrelled organ, which, notwithstanding the vicissitudes of climate, was still in complete order and repair. This was received with great pleasure, and abundant thanks, and was to be appropriated to the use and ornament of the new church at the presidency of the missions at St. Carlos."[68] These statements from an Englishman, who was quite as "British" in his conservatism as the average of his race, in an age when Englishmen felt an antipathy toward Spain and Spaniards on both national and religious grounds, are the strongest possible evidence of the charm of Lasuén's manner and the beauty of his character.

Malaspina, commander of the Spanish voyage of discovery by the ships *Descubierta* and *Atrevida*, was at Monterey in Sep-

[68] *Ibid.*, Vol. iv, pp. 362–364.

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tember, 1791. He refers to Lasuén in connection with various interpretations about the reported loss of two boats by the Lapérouse expedition: "Among those who could with the most judgment and knowledge make some interpretations, Fray Matías [*sic*] de Lasuén, of the Order of St. Francis, president of the missions of New California, without doubt deserved the first place. He was a man who in Christian lore, mien, and conduct was truly apostolic, and his good manners and learning were unusual. This religious had with good reason merited the esteem and friendship of both French commanders and the majority of their subordinates."[69]

Bishop Francisco Rouset of Sonora wrote to Father-President Tapis on October 27, 1803, doubtless on receipt of the news of Father Lasuén's death, praising the latter for his religious character and his services. Unfortunately, the exact transcript of his letter is not now at hand.[70]

If further proof were needed of the zeal as a missionary of this great Franciscan it need only be said that he served all the years of his presidency without pay. Salaries were granted only to the two missionaries stationed regularly at each mission. The supernumerary missionaries were without stipend, and, strange to say, the Father-Presidents were reckoned in this category.[71] As Lasuén put it, he lived upon the alms of his Franciscan brethren. This self-sacrifice is not so surprising in itself, for many others were equally without financial reward, but it was particularly hard for Father Lasuén, who had a poor sister, named Clara, about whose welfare he was anxious, for he feared that he must die without having been able to provide for her.[72]

And so at length this man, who had done a life work after most others would have chosen to retire, was himself ready to pass off the scene. Old man that he was, about 83, he had retained his faculties and rendered effective service to the very end. After an illness that confined him to his bed for twelve

[69] Fernández de Navarrete, Martín, *Examen Histórico-Crítico de los Viajes y Descubrimientos Apócrifos*, in *Colección de Documentos Inéditos para la Historia de España* (Madrid, 1849), Vol. xv, p. 315.

[70] Bancroft Library, *Archivo de la Mision de Santa Bárbara*, Vol. xi, p. 100. This is number 8 in a calendar of letters received from the bishops of Sonora.

[71] Bancroft, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. i, p. 578.

[72] Hittell, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 488-489.

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days[73] he died at Mission San Carlos on June 26, 1803, and was buried there the next day.[74]

In estimating the greatness of Lasuén's work one is naturally inclined to compare him with his renowned predecessor, Junípero Serra. Bancroft rates Lasuén ahead of Serra,[75] though Engelhardt impugns his motive.[76] It is perhaps unnecessary to choose between them, but, surely, Lasuén worthily filled the post of the great Junípero. As a mission-founder he had achieved as much; indeed it might be argued that he had done more, for he is credited with having inaugurated one of those established during Serra's presidency, while he personally dedicated all of the nine erected in his own term. He travelled fully as much as Father Serra from mission to mission and perhaps more. He baptized a far greater number of Indians in the much shorter period of time during which he was allowed to administer the sacrament of confirmation. He built up the missions economically and architecturally. He was far more successful than Serra in maintaining harmonious relations with the military. In zeal as a Christian and a missionary he equalled, though he could not surpass, Father Junípero. And yet it is perhaps true that the task of Father Serra in a virgin field was the more difficult, and therefore entitled to the greater praise for its successful fulfilment. One wonders, however, if Lasuén might not have done equally well, if the chance had fallen to him. And, furthermore, if Lasuén had had a Palóu to write his biography, might he not have fared nearly as well with posterity? Be that as it may, one may well sympathize with the splendid tribute (omitting all in it that compares Lasuén to Serra) paid to him by Bancroft: "In him were united the qualities that make up the model or ideal padre. . . . In person he was small and compact, in expression vivacious, in manners always agreeable, though dignified. He was a frank, kind-hearted old man, who made friends of all he met. Distinguished visitors of French and English as well as of Spanish blood were impressed in like manner with his sweetness of disposition and quiet force of character.

[73] *Ibid.*, Vol. i, p. 489.
[74] BANCROFT, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. ii, p. 8.
[75] *Ibid*, Vol. ii, pp. 8-9.
[76] ENGELHARDT, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 597.

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His relations with the college, with the government, and with his band of missionary workers were always harmonious, often in somewhat trying circumstances, though no one of the Franciscans had more clearly defined opinions than he. None of them had a firmer will, or were readier on occasion to express their views. His management of the mission interests for eighteen years affords abundant evidence of his untiring zeal and of his ability as a man of business. His writings . . . prepossess the reader in favor of the author by their comparative conciseness of style. Of his fervent piety there are abundant proofs; and his piety and humility were of an agreeable type, unobtrusive, and blended with common-sense . . . Padre Fermin—as he was everywhere known—to a remarkable degree for his time and environment based his hopes of future reward on purity of life, kindness, and courtesy to all, and a zealous performance of duty as a man, a Christian, and a Franciscan."[77] This from a writer not always in sympathy with the friars should be a measure of the regard in which posterity should hold the memory of the great and lovable California missionary, Fermín Francisco de Lasuén.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN, PH.D.,
University of California,
Berkeley, Cal.

[77] BANCROFT, *Hist. Cal.*, Vol. ii, pp. 8-9.

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CUTHBERT FENWICK—PIONEER CATHOLIC AND LEGISLATOR OF MARYLAND[1]

Before the *Ark* and the *Dove*, bearing their cargoes of men and equipment for a settlement in the New World, reached their destination, Lord Baltimore wrote to his friend, Lord Wentworth, that besides his brothers, Leonard and George Calvert, "very near twenty other gentlemen of very good fashion" had accompanied the enterprise.[2] These twenty or so gentlemen were persons whose wealth enabled them, in addition to defraying the expenses of their transportation, to contribute towards the

[1] The following bibliography shows the list of materials upon which this sketch of Cuthbert Fenwick is built: SOURCES: (*A*) MSS. Wills, deeds and other court documents at Leonardtown and La Plata, Maryland; records of the Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland. (*B*) PRINTED: *Archives of Maryland*, thirty-five volumes; *Publications of the Catholic Record Society* (England), twenty volumes; *Letters and Dispatches of Thomas Wentworth Strafford* (edited by Radcliffe), two volumes London, 1739; SAINT-GEORGE (Richard), *Pedigrees Recorded at the Herald's Visitations of the County of Northumberland* (edited by Joseph Foster), Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1891; WHITE (Andrew, S.J.), *Relatio Itineris in Marylandiam*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 7, Baltimore, 1874. The following may also be considered as belonging to the same class of material: *The Calvert Papers*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, Nos. 28, 34, 35, Baltimore, 1889–99; BALDWIN (Jane, later Jane Baldwin Cotton), *The Maryland Calendar of Wills*, from 1635 to 1726, Baltimore, 1901–1917; BACON (Thomas), *Laws of Maryland at Large*, Annapolis, 1765; HAYDEN (Horace E.), *Virginia Genealogies*, Wilkes-Barre, 1891; KILTY (John), *The Land-Holder's Assistant and Land-Office Guide*, Baltimore, 1808. WORKS: ALSOP (George), *A Character of the Province of Maryland*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 15, Baltimore, 1880; BANCROFT (George), *History of the United States of America*, New York, 1895; BOZMAN (John L.), *A Sketch of the History of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1811, and *The History of Maryland*, two volumes, Baltimore, 1837; BROWN (B. F.) *Maryland not a Roman Catholic Colony*, Baltimore, 1876; BROWNE (William H.), *George and Cecilius Calvert, Barons of Baltimore* (Makers of America Series), New York, 1890, and *Maryland, the History of a Palatinate* (American Commonwealths Series), Boston, 1888; CHALMERS (George), *Political Annals of the Present United Colonies from their Settlement to the Peace of 1763*, two volumes, London, 1780; COBB (Sanford H.), *The Rise of Religious Liberty in America*, New York, 1902; DAVIS (George L.), *The Day-Star of American Freedom*, New York, 1855; GAMBRALL (Theodore C.), *Studies in the Civil, Social and Ecclesiastical History of Early Maryland*, New York, 1893, and *Church Life in Colonial Maryland*, Baltimore, 1885; HANSON (George A.), *Old Kent of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1876; HAWKS (Francis L.), *A Narrative of Events Connected with the Rise and Progress of the Protestant Episcopal Church in Maryland*, New York, 1839; HODGSON (John), *A History of Northumberland*, two parts in 3 vols., Newcastle-upon-Tyne, 1827–1858; HUGHES (Thomas, S. J.), *The History of the Society of Jesus in North America*, 2 vols. of text, and two parts of Documents, Longmans,

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establishment of the proposed colony of Maryland. Others, too, it would seem, of some means but of less rank, were among the passengers on the two staunch little vessels.

The greater number of Maryland's earliest settlers, however, were men of small, if any, worldly possessions. Many of them were unable to meet even the cost of the long voyage across the Atlantic. In the hope of finding a home in the unbroken forests of America where they could worship God freely in accordance with the dictates of their consciences, or of bettering their temporal conditions—perhaps of both—this class of colonists voluntarily bound themselves to the more fortunate settlers whom they were thus obliged, by contract, to serve for a stipulated period in pay-

Green and Co., 1907–1917; INGLE (Edward), *Captain Richard Ingle, the Maryland "Pirate and Rebel,"* Baltimore, 1884; JOHNSON (Bradley T.), *The Foundation of Maryland and the Origin of the Act Concerning Religion*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 18, Baltimore, 1883; MCMAHON (John V. L.), *An Historical View of the Government of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1831; MCSHERRY (James), *History of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1848; NEILL (Edward D.), *Terra Mariae*, Philadelphia, 1867, *The Founders of Maryland*, Albany, 1876, and *Thomas Cornwallis and the Early Maryland Colonists*, Boston, 1879; OLDMIXON (John), *The British Empire in America*, 2 vols., London, 1741; RICHARDSON (Hester Dorsey), *Sidelights on Maryland History*, 2 vols., Baltimore, 1913; RIDGELEY (Helen W.), *Historic Graves of Maryland and the District of Columbia*, Grafton Press, 1908; RILEY (Elihu S.), *A History of the General Assembly of Maryland*, Baltimore, 1905; RUSSELL (William T.), *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary*, Baltimore, 1907; SCHARF (Thomas), *History of Maryland*, 3 vols., Baltimore, 1879; SILVER (John Archer), *The Provincial Government of Maryland*, J. H. U. Press, Baltimore, 1895; SMITH (C. Ernest), *Religion under the Barons of Baltimore*, Baltimore, 1879; SPARKS (F. E.), *Causes of the Maryland Revolution of 1689*, J. H. U. Press, Baltimore, 1896; STEINER (Bernard C.), *Beginnings of Maryland*, J. H. U. Press, Baltimore, 1903, *Maryland During the English Civil Wars*, J. H. U. Press, Baltimore, 1903, and *Life of Rev. Thomas Bray*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 37, Baltimore, 1901; STOCKBRIDGE (Henry), *The Maryland Archives as Illustrating the Spirit of the Times of the Early Settlers*, Baltimore, 1886; STREETER (Sebastian F.), *Maryland Two Hundred Years Ago*, Baltimore, 1852, and *Papers Relating to the Early History of Maryland*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 9, Baltimore, 1876; THOMAS (James W.), *Chronicles of Maryland*, Cumberland, 1913; TREACY (William P.), *Old Catholic Maryland and Its Early Jesuit Missionaries*, 1889; WILHELM (Lewis W.), *Sir George Calvert, Baron of Baltimore*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 20, Baltimore, 1884; WILSON (James G.), *A Maryland Manor*, Maryland Historical Society Fund Publication, No. 30, Baltimore, 1890; *Ancestral Records and Portraits*, Grafton Press, 1910; *Maryland Historical Magazine, passim*, *American Historical Magazine*, Vol. iv. It must be noted, however, that some of these authors, especially Gambrall and Neill, have suffered themselves to be unduly governed by bias.

[1] *Letters and Dispatches of Thomas Wentworth Strafford* (edited by Radcliffe), Vol. i, pp. 178–179.

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ment for their transportation to Lord Baltimore's palatinate. Later, such immigrants pledged their services to merchants or masters of ships, who not infrequently let or sold the labor thus due to them to the wealthier planters.

Those who came to the province in this humble capacity were known as "redemptioners" or indentured servants. Those who emigrated at their own expense were called freemen. The term of servitude for the former ran, as a rule, from two to five years, according to age, value of services and other circumstances. When the time of their contracts expired, they also became freemen, immediately enjoying equal civic rights and privileges with the independent colonists, and were entitled to a certain portion of land for themselves, their wives and their children.

Prior to the "Protestant Revolution" of 1689, at least, a large proportion of the colony's population, attracted perhaps no less by the tolerance of the first two lords proprietary than by the large prospects offered by their generous government, came to Maryland under such conditions. To come in this status was then considered no disgrace. In fact, many who arrived indentured for their passage money soon rose to prominence after obtaining their freedom, and married into the best colonial families. Some, indeed, of the most honored names in Maryland's history were either redemptioners or the descendants of redemptioners. Among this class, in the early days of the province, were Catholics of equally as high birth and breeding as the some twenty or so "gentlemen of very good fashion" of whom Lord Cecilius Calvert wrote his friend. Doubtless the reduced circumstances of these were largely due to the fines and confiscations to which those of their faith were subjected by the odious laws that then existed in the mother-country, and that brought many of the wealthiest and noblest of the fine old English Catholic families to abject poverty.

Such an adventurer was the subject of this sketch, Cuthbert Fenwick. Fenwick was a scion of one of England's oldest and staunchest Catholic families. No doubt it was the training that he received at home that made him one of the most striking figures in early Maryland and one of the most influential builders of the colony, during the first two decades of its history, as well as "the fairest exponent of that system of religious liberty which had con-

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stituted the very corner-stone of the first settlement under the charter" procured by Cecilius Calvert, the lord proprietary.[3]

Long-standing traditions, when traced to their sources, are generally discovered to have had their origin in historic truth. So it has proved in the present instance. Tradition had long connected the Fenwicks of Maryland, through their first American forebear, Cuthbert Fenwick, with the Fenwicks of Fenwick Tower, Northumberland County, England. But the actual mention of the name "Cuthberte" in its proper place in the family annals in Great Britain, together with the incessant recurrence of the same Christian names in the colony, seems positively and definitely to establish the identity of the "Lord of Fenwick Manor," Maryland, and to place beyond dispute his connection with the historic family of the same patronymic in the north of England.[4] Thus, though he came to America as a redemptioner, Cuthbert Fenwick could possibly boast of the oldest, if not the noblest, lineage among the early settlers of the Baltimore palatinate.

The Fenwicks of Northumberland, England, can be traced back to the twelfth century. The principal house of the family was that of Fenwick Tower, not far from Newcastle-upon-Tyne. In course of time, however, numerous cadet branches came into existence, spreading the influence of the line widely through the north.[5] Their loyalty to the Catholic faith is said to have been

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[3] DAVIS, *The Day-Star of American Freedom*, p. 207.

[4] SAINT-GEORGE, *Pedigrees Recorded at the Herald's Visitations of the County of Northumberland*, p. 50; HODGSON, *A History of Northumberland*, Vol. ii of Part ii, p. 75.

[5] SAINT-GEORGE, *op. cit.*, pp. 50–55, and HODGSON, *op. cit.*, pp. 75-76 and 112–114, show that the early Maryland colonist belonged to the cadet houses of Longshows or Langshaws and Nunriding. William B. Goodwin of Columbus, Ohio, who has for many years been making a thorough study, from authentic sources, of the Fenwicks, both in England and America, has given us the following pedigree of the Cuthbert Fenwick who came to Maryland with its first settlers: (1) Robert de Fenwick, about 1190, Ville de Fenwick. (2) Robert de Fenwick, son and heir, about 1230, Ville de Fenwick. (3) Thomas de Fenwick, third son of —— Fenwick, possessor of the Manor of Capheaton, afterwards sold to the Swinburns; also later Prior of Hexham Abbey. (4) Sir Thomas de Fenwick, Knight of the Manor of Fenwick. (5) Alan de Fenwick, of Fenwick, third son. (6) Sir John de Fenwick, Knight of Fenwick. (7) Sir John de Fenwick, second son, knighted in the French War by King Henry V and given the motto "*Perit ut vivat*" and the Manor of Trouble Ville, in Normandy. In this generation Fenwick Tower descended to Sir John's

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long the most steadfast. The records of England's dark penal days, imperfect and incomplete though they are, bear mute but eloquent testimony to the fidelity of many of them to their religion, as well as of the fines imposed upon them for having the courage to be recusants in the face of laws most intolerant. It is not improbable, indeed, that the family of Cuthbert had been thus reduced to straits that obliged him to come to America as a redemptioner.

But if he were a passenger on the *Ark* or the *Dove*, which, as will be seen, is more than likely, another explanation might be advanced for his emigrating in so humble a capacity. The young man's conscience might have forbidden him to take the prescribed test oath; and to avoid so odious a thing he elected to enlist in Lord Baltimore's enterprise among the adventurers indentured to others, whose oaths seem to have sufficed for those under their care. Yet he appears to have arrived in the colony a poor man.

In any case, the noble youth had not less to expect in the New World than in the Old. At home, one of his faith could look for little or nothing except trouble and persecution. In the broad domains of America, and under the kindly and tolerant rule of a man like Cecilius Calvert, he might hope to plant his name and posterity forever. It may be, too, that he had in him some of the spirit of adventure which was then rife among those of his class and age in Great Britain. Thus more than one influence, perchance, had its part in bringing to Maryland one of the most charming personages of her early history.

The young cavalier's father was George Fenwick of Longshows, or Langshaws, a cadet branch of the main line of Fenwick Tower. In the family there were nine children, six boys and three girls. Cuthbert, as is shown by Foster's pedigrees of Northumberland, was the fourth son, and was living in 1615. The precise date of

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elder brother, Sir Alan de Fenwick. (8) John Fenwick, to whom his father gave Newburne Hall. (9) Sir Roger Fenwick, fourth son, Constable of Newcastle and Esquire of the Body to King Henry VII. (10) Sir Ralph Fenwick, Knight, who married the sole heiress of —— Mitford of Stanton. (11) Anthony Fenwick, second son, who received the house of Langshaws from his mother. (12) Stephen Fenwick of Langshaws, son and heir. (13) George Fenwick of Langshaws, living in 1615. (14) Cuthbert Fenwick, fourth son, whose eldest brother, William, son and heir of George mentioned above, was 12 years of age in 1615.

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his birth is not known; but his own testimony, given in April, 1654, that he was then forty years of age, "or thereabouts,"[6] proves that he was born probably in 1613 or 1614, making him twenty or twenty-one years old when he landed on the shores of the New World.

Both the time of his arrival in Maryland and whether he was a passenger on the *Ark* or the *Dove* have been subjects of discussion. The difficulty arises from a petition of Thomas Cornwallis, made in 1652, for grants of land in virtue of having "transported" twenty-two servants into the colony from 1633 to that date. Amongst these servants he mentions Cuthbert Fenwick as one of four whom he "brought and exported" from Virginia in 1634. But against this record we have two others, both belonging to 1639, and in both of which Fenwick is mentioned just as explicitly as one of ten men-servants whom the wealthy landholder brought "into the province in 1633."[7] These two entries, dating as they do from a period much nearer Fenwick's arrival in the settlement, ought to outweigh the single statement of later years, when lapse of time, pressure of business and the increased number of imported persons all conspired to make the memory less clear and trustworthy. The argument is all the stronger in view of the careless manner in which records of that day were written, and of the almost verbal agreement of the two earlier entries of Cornwallis' claims.

Again, the fact that Cuthbert Fenwick's name appears as one of the witnesses to the will of George Calvert, a brother of the lord proprietary and the governor, July 10, 1634, shows that he must have been among the early settlers long enough to win the

[6] *Archives of Maryland* (Vol. x), *Judiciary and Testamentary Business*, 1649/50–1657, p. 372.

[7] Land Records at Annapolis, Liber 1, p. 110; *ibid.*, Liber A. B. H., pp. 94 and 343–44. See also RICHARDSON, *Sidelights on Maryland History*, Vol. i, pp. 12, 14, 15, 417. Mrs. Richardson, it seems to us, by no means substantiates her claim that Cuthbert Fenwick was not a passenger on the *Ark* or the *Dove*. And it should be borne in mind here that the words "transported" and "imported," so often found in the early Maryland records, had not then the ugly meaning which they came to have later. They simply meant the payment of the colonists' fare to the New World. Not unfrequently do we find a man claiming land for the "transportation" of his wife or child, or even of himself. After all, it may very well be that Fenwick was merely in the employment of Cornwallis; and that the commissioner and councilor brought him over to look after his business as his attorney.

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confidence of those in charge of the province.[8] But this would hardly have been possible had he not come in the *Ark* or the *Dove*. Tradition also, of long standing, insists on placing the distinguished pioneer legislator among the original group of adventurers who landed on Saint Clement's Island and offered up the holy sacrifice of the Mass, March 25, 1634, the first day of the new year according to the old Julian Calendar.

The little documentary discrepancy might be explained on the supposition that Fenwick remained for a time in Virginia, where we know the pilgrims tarried for more than a week on their journey, to transact business for his master, Cornwallis, and then continued his way to Maryland. But be this as it may, the young scion of the noble house of Fenwick Tower did not long remain subject to Cornwallis. The treatment that he received from this high-minded gentleman was most kindly and generous. Indeed, because of the esteem in which he was held by his patron, and the exceptional advantages he derived from intimate association with such a man, it was perhaps fortunate for the young cavalier that he fell, at that period of his life and in a new, uncivilized country, under the wholesome influence of a person of Cornwallis' character. Cornwallis was a leader among the colonists and one of the two commissioners appointed by Lord Baltimore to assist Governor Calvert in the affairs of the province. From the start, he seems not merely to have placed implicit confidence in Fenwick's honesty, but to have entrusted matters of much moment to his prudence, judgment and ability. A perusal of the records that still remain tempts us to believe that the commissioner regarded Cuthbert Fenwick as a friend, an adviser and an associate rather than as one in his employment.

They were both possessed of rare parts, splendid characters, tireless energy, and unimpeachable integrity. Both were just such men as were needed to build up a commonwealth in the primeval forests of the New World. Kindred spirits, they appear to have been inseparable, and to have acted together—at least from the time Fenwick obtained his freedom—in all important concerns of the province during most of the first two decades of its existence. Indeed, almost from the beginning we see Fenwick,

[8] *Maryland Historical Magazine*, Vol. i, pp. 363-64.

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although a young man in his twenties, acting as the commissioner's attorney to look after his business and vast estates, not only during his visits to England and absences on matters of colonial or personal interest, but when he was at home. For this reason, although married, having a family of his own, and possessing broad acres in his own right, Cuthbert Fenwick long lived —perhaps until 1651—at Cornwallis' manor, known as The Cross.[9]

In March, 1638, Fenwick sat in the colonial assembly of freemen called to consult for the welfare of the budding state. It was the second meeting of the kind in the province, but the first of which we have any satisfactory account. For Cuthbert Fenwick it marked the beginning of a notable career in what was to become the Lower House of the General Assembly. Taking an active part in the deliberations of this legislative body, whose proceedings are among the most noteworthy in the Maryland colonial records, he becomes at once a man of mark, as well as a conspicuous, historic personage. His rise was rapid, and thenceforth, to the time of his death, he figured prominently in the legislative meetings of Provincial Maryland. On one occasion, during the absence of Cornwallis, whose attorney he was, he sat by special summons of Leonard Calvert in the governor's council to take the place of the commissioner.[10] It would seem, indeed, that he was the only man to receive such a peculiar order in the history of the colony.

A man of sterling worth and inflexible honesty, possessed of a charming character which he appears to have handed down to his posterity, Cuthbert Fenwick won the confidence and goodwill of his fellow-colonists, both bond and free. The record of his voting at the assemblies of which he was a member show that, gentle and considerate though he was, he had a will that refused to be swerved from what he felt to be his duty. On various occasions he is found taking sides against the governor and his council and secretary. Once he cast his vote against a measure that was favored by all his associates.[11]

[9] It is remarkable how often the names of Fenwick and Cornwallis are linked together in the records of the day.

[10] *Archives of Maryland* (Vol. i), *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly*, 1637/38–1664, pp. 88–89.

[11] *Archives of Maryland*, Vols. i, iii, iv and x, *passim*.

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Few, if any, of the original colonists were more frequently members of the legislative body than Cuthbert Fenwick. His political life, however, may be said to have reached its climax in the assemblies of 1849 and 1850. In the former, which is specially noted for passing the historic act of religious toleration, he was the first member of the Financial Committee. Davis is of the opinion that he was probably also the speaker of the Lower House on this occasion.[12] We may imagine the interest that one of his staunch Catholic faith took in the "Act Concerning Religion" at a time when everything boded so ill for his Church and faith. In the Protestant assembly of 1650 he was chairman of a joint committee on "Laws and Orders," composed of several members of both houses.

The assembly of 1650 was controlled by the Puritans, who, apparently in a spirit of religious bias, imposed an oath of secrecy upon its members. For refusing to take the oath Thomas Matthews, the Catholic burgess elected by Saint Inigoes' Hundred, Saint Mary's County, was expelled from the Lower House. Cuthbert Fenwick was then chosen by the same voters to succeed the ejected member. But Fenwick also scented danger in the measure, for he had been a victim of religious intolerance both in England and in Maryland. He saw only too clearly that an assembly sworn to secrecy would be a dangerous weapon in the hands of those whom he had every reason to fear might be disposed to use it against those of his faith. Like Matthews, he refused to take the oath, unless assured that it contained nothing opposed to his religion or his conscience. Though he was told that he would be expelled from his seat, if he did not take the oath of secrecy without limitation or reserve, by tactful prudence and firmness he managed not merely to retain his place, but to elicit from the legislative body a declaration that they had never intended to bind any member in a way that would infringe upon his religion or trespass upon his conscience.[13] In view of the

[12] DAVIS, *op. cit.*, p. 212. Some writers question Davis' supposition that the assembly sat in two houses before 1650. But BACON (*Laws of Maryland at Large*—study on the Assembly of 1649), BOZMAN (*History of Maryland*, Vol. ii, p. 349), BANCROFT (*History of the United States of America*, Vol. i, p. 169), and other authors of note are of the same opinion as Mr. Davis.

[13] *Archives of Maryland* (Vol. i), *Proceedings and Acts of the General Assembly*, 1637/38–1664, pp. 237*ff* and 273*ff*.

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strong Puritan prejudices of the day, this was not only a notable triumph for the clever legislator; it was a victory of importance. As is shown by Maryland's subsequent history, Fenwick understood the trend of the day and set himself to counteract its consequences.

From the time he obtained his freedom, he is styled "Cuthbert Fenwick, Gentleman." Governor Calvert, representing Lord Baltimore, calls him, in official documents, "Our trusty Cuthbert, Gentleman"; or "Our beloved Cuthbert Fenwick, Gentleman." Indeed the title "Gentleman," which in those days had a special significance as implying nobility of birth, is rarely ever omitted from his name in the records of the times.

Few men of his day were the recipients of so many signs of goodwill from his fellow-colonists, or of so many commissions of trust and confidence, as Cuthbert Fenwick. Few were more frequently employed in the service of the province. Time and again was he appointed to positions that demanded good judgment and no little courage.

In 1635 he fought side by side with Thomas Cornwallis, who commanded two armed vessels of the governor, and defeated William Clayborne's pirates under Ratcliff Warren in an engagement on the eastern side of the Chesapeake, not far from the shore of the present Somerset County.[14] In 1638 he was chosen to aid the government in regulating trade with the colony and between the colonists and the Indians. In the fulfilment of this office he obtained information in regard to the murder of Rowland Williams, at Accomac, by the Nanticokes that determined Maryland and Virginia to unite for the punishment of that tribe. Again, he was commissioned, with Capt. John Hollis, to arrest all persons suspected of illicit trading with the red man; and again, in 1644, he was made a member of a council to be consulted by Capt. Henry Fleet, who was sent to conclude a treaty of peace with the Susquehannas and "Patowmecks," or to declare war against them, as circumstances demanded.[15] In 1643 he went to Boston, aboard *The Thomas*, as an officer, to keep order

[14] *Ibid.*, p. 17, and Vol. iv, *Judicial and Testamentary Business of the Provincial Court*, pp. 21–23; BOZMAN, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 35, 65–66.

[15] *Archives of Maryland* (Vol. iii), *Proceedings of the Council of Maryland*, 1636–1667, pp. 73, 74, 84, 148–150; DAVIS, *op. cit.*, p. 212.

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among the sailors.[16] Likely, indeed, he was the bearer of the historic letter of Governor Calvert to Captain Gibson inviting the settlers of New England persecuted by the Puritans to make their homes in Maryland, where they could enjoy the blessings of religious freedom. In 1644 he was appointed to a commissionership in St. Mary s County, "an office out of whieh grew that of the early county court judge."[17] In the rebellion (1645) of Richard Ingle and William Clayborne, he remained faithfully at his post of duty, was made prisoner by the adherents of these two evil geniuses of the province, and subjected to many hardships and indignities.[18]

Though favor and regard were shown him by the governor, this did not prevent Cuthbert Fenwick from being a champion of the rights and the liberties of the people. More than once we find him a member of a committee, of which he was the chairman, appointed to draw up a list of the grievances of the freemen of the colony or to draft the laws which they wished to have enacted. Of the innumerable juries on which he served, he was almost uniformly the foreman. Again and again his name appears as the executor or administrator of estates; as the appraiser of property; as a delegate to take or pass judgment on an inventory; as an arbitrator of difficulties, either chosen by the court or selected by the parties concerned; as the attorney of people of every station of life to prosecute or to defend their cause before the Assembly.[19]

Although the historians of Maryland have done little more for this interesting and deserving personage than to preserve his memory, the colonial records for nearly a score of years are fairly burdened with the repetition of Cuthbert Fenwick's name. With the exception of Thomas Cornwallis, perhaps no other man of the time was more intensely engaged, or took a more prominent part in the affairs of the little colony along the Chesapeake Bay. None manifested a keener interest in its welfare.

[16] *Ibid. Archives of Maryland* (Vol. iv), *Judicial and Testamentary Business of the Provincial Court*, 1637–1650, p. 204.

[17] *Ibid.* (Vol. iii), *Proceedings of the Provincial Court*, 1636–1667, pp. 150–151; DAVIS, *op. cit.*, p. 212; BOZMAN, *op. cit.*, p. 280.

[18] *Archives of Maryland*, Vol. iv, as above, *passim*, and Vol. x, as above, pp. 253-254, 371–373; DAVIS, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

[19] *Archives of Maryland*, Vols. i, iv, and x, as above, *passim*.

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The chronicles show him to have been a man of wide activities and a leader in all that made for good. His was a record of which Maryland and his numerous descendents may justly be proud.

It was but natural that a man of such splendid capacity and tireless activity should rapidly accumulate a competent fortune, even in a country so new and uncultivated as Maryland then was. Only a few years, in fact, had passed before we find Cuthbert Fenwick one of the largest taxpayers in the colony, indicating that he was one of the largest property holders. His rise was the result, not of fortune or accident, but of character, industry and ability. Strength of purpose and singleness of mind stand out as prominent traits of all his life.

Of Cuthbert Fenwick's educational opportunities nothing is definitely known. Yet, while we find no record positively stating that he was a barrister or legal practitioner, the frequency with which he acted as attorney for the colonists, not only to transact their business but to prosecute or to defend their cause before the court, and the acquaintance which he seems to have had with the nice points and technicalities of law, would indicate that he was a man of culture and possessed of no mean knowledge of jurisprudence, if not a lawyer. For a time he was one of a committee of three appointed to "hear and determine" all causes in the province, whether civil or criminal, "not extending to life or member."[20] In his capacity of attorney for Cornwallis he showed his fearless spirit by bringing suit (1644-1645) against Governor Calvert for 100,000 pounds of tobacco, then the legal tender of the country. The case is one of the most interesting and instructive in the early annals of the colony, and shows that Fenwick possessed considerable skill in the management of such proceedings.[21]

But the sturdy pioneer was not merely a leader in civic matters. Staunch and practical in his faith, he was likewise prominent and active in the affairs of his Church. Withal he was humble and unpretentious.

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[20] *Archives of Maryland* (Vol. iii), *Proceedings of the Provincial Court*, 1636–1667, pp. 150–151.

[21] *Ibid.* (Vol. iv), *Judicial and Testamentary Business of the Provincial Court*, pp. 292–294.

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From the outset, he was a steadfast and special friend and adviser of the Jesuit Fathers, Maryland's earliest missionaries, as whose trusted agent he acted in the management of their temporalities. They placed implicit confidence in his judgment and integrity. Nor did he hesitate to defend them in misunderstandings with such men as John Lewger (Secretary of the Province), Governor Calvert and the lord proprietary. Doubtless it was in this way that were laid the foundations of a lasting and extraordinary friendship towards that distinguished body of ecclesiastics, which may be noticed to this day among Cuthbert Fenwick's descendants in Maryland. Beginning with one of Cuthbert's own sons, it is remarkable how many of them, as a result no doubt of this devotion, have borne the baptismal name of Ignatius, after the sainted founder of that institute, since the days of their forefather who helped to lay the cornerstone of the "Land of Sanctuary."

As has been stated, Fenwick seems to have lived at The Cross, the manorial home of Capt. Thomas Cornwallis, until 1651. But in this year he received from Lord Baltimore a grant of 2,000 acres of land lying on the Patuxent River and adjoining the historic De La Brooke Manor, which belonged to Robert Brooke.[22] To this new estate, whither he appears to have moved at once, Fenwick gave the name of Saint Cuthbert's, in honor of his patron saint. Even in his lifetime, however, it was commonly called Fenwick Manor, and was so known for more than a century. Thereafter he devoted his talents largely to the cultivation of his property and to beautifying his home, in which he perhaps hoped that his name might be perpetuated in the New World.

Unfortunately, his days were cut short, when in the prime of life. He was but one or two and forty years of age at the time. As may be seen from his will and that of his wife, he did not live to erect the mansion he proposed to place on Saint Cuthbert's Manor, but died in a house constructed on another part of his plantation lying on a branch of Saint Cuthbert's Creek. The precise time of his death is not known. His will, however, signed March 6, 1655 (Old Style, 1654), and the appointment of

[22] The Land Records, Annapolis, Liber A. B. H., p. 158, show that this estate was surveyed for Cuthbert Fenwick, April 24, 1651.

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Mrs. Fenwick as administratrix of his estate by the court, April 24, 1655, show that he died between these two dates.[23] The assembly of October and court of December, 1654, by indicating his presence at their transactions, prove that he remained active unto the end. One regrets the loss to the young Catholic colony in being thus deprived of so capable a man in the heyday of his vigorous mentality and at the height of his usefulness.

Cuthbert Fenwick was twice married. Of his first wife, the date of the marriage or that of her death no record has been discovered. But his relations with Cornwallis cause one to fancy that she was a near relation, perhaps a daughter, of that early commissioner and councilor. She left her husband four children—Thomas (doubtless so named after Cornwallis), Cuthbert, Ignatius and Teresa. In 1649 he was again joined in holy wedlock—this time with Mrs. Jane Eltonhead Moryson, widow of Robert Moryson of Kecoughtan (now Hampton), Va.[24] The second Mrs. Fenwick was a daughter of Richard Eltonhead of Eltonhead, Lancashire, England, and belonged to a family perhaps not less distinguished than that of Fenwick himself. Her brother, the Hon. William Eltonhead, a member of the Maryland Colonial Council, was put to death by the Puritans in 1655. The fruit of this marriage was three sons—Robert, Richard and John. Cuthbert Fenwick was survived by all his children, except Thomas, whose early death is indicated by the absence of his name from the wills of both his father and his stepmother.

The early Catholic legislator, one cannot but believe, was a devoted husband and a fond father. At the time of his death he possessed some thousands of acres of land, lying along the beautiful Patuxent River and extending, Thomas tells us, from the present Cat Creek to Saint Cuthbert's (now Cuckold) Creek.[25] To his wife he bequeathed the land west of Deep

[23] Cuthbert Fenwick's will is in Liber S of the Provincial Court Records, pp. 219–220. (Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland.)

[24] Fenwick's marriage contract with the Widow Moryson is in Liber S of the Provincial Court, pp. 218-219, and bears the date of August 1, 1649. (Land Office, Annapolis, Maryland.)

[25] Thomas, *Chronicles of Colonial Maryland* (1913 ed.), p. 360.

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Branch at St. Cuthbert's Neck absolutely and plantation during life. The residue of his real estate he willed to be equally divided between his sons, Cuthbert, Ignatius, Robert, Richard and John; except that the eldest, who bore his own Christian name, and who was "to be the Lord of the Manor" and to have Saint Cuthbert's proper for his plantation, was to receive an extra one hundred acres. Teresa's portion, as was often the custom with daughters in times past, consisted of personalty. The Church was remembered in the persons of Fathers Starkey and Fitzherbert.

As the children were still minors, Mrs. Fenwick was appointed their guardian. Being a woman of business ability, affairs continued to prosper under her administration. But, unfortunately she did not long survive her husband, a circumstance that seems to have caused the youthful family, thus left without the guidance of her good judgment, considerable inconvenience. This, however, they were able to overcome as they grew in age and experience.

Jane Eltonhead Fenwick's will is dated November 24, 1660, and was probated December 12, 1660. It shows that she divided the land left her by her husband into three parts, called the "home plantation," "Little Fenwick," and "Mousier's Plantation." These she ordered to be equally distributed among her three sons, Robert, Richard and John. To her stepchildren, Cuthbert, Ignatius and Teresa, she gave servants, stock and other personalty. Like her husband, Mrs. Fenwick did not forget the Church in her last will and testament. The document is evidence of the bond of unity and harmony and affection and mutual confidence that existed in the family; for she appointed her stepsons, Cuthbert and Ignatius, on attaining the legal age of one and twenty years, guardians of her own children during their minority.[26] It is worthy of note that no little value and interest attach to her will as giving a fair idea of the home comforts, the wardrobe of colonial dames, and the household furnishings among the wealthier of Maryland's early settlers. It throws much light upon an important branch of history, the social and domestic life of the past.

[26] Mrs. Fenwick's will is in Will Book No. 1, pp. 114*ff*. (Land Office, Annapolis.)

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The story of Maryland—the most elite of the Anglo-American colonies—is the most glorious of our colonial days, until religious bias and intolerance begin to mar its beauty. Cuthbert Fenwick was a leader in the making of that history. His spirit of honesty and fraternal charity, as his kindly, even disposition and judicial temperament, not only caused him to be trusted and respected by all, but made for the peace, harmony and prosperity of the palatinate. He was a man of the same caliber and spirit as the first two Lords Baltimore, Leonard Calvert, Thomas Cornwallis and other champions of religious toleration. A steadfast and practical Catholic, he stood boldly for his faith and in defense of liberty of conscience. His actions were ever characterized by good judgment, and a sane, independent conservatism. Always the gentleman, courteous of manner and generous of heart, Fenwick must have been as a ray of sunshine for the pioneer settlers in their hard lives amid the gloomy forests of Maryland.

Robert Fenwick, Cuthbert's eldest son by his second marriage, is said to have died young. And as from 1663, when he had not yet attained his majority, we find no further mention in the colonial registers of Ignatius, born of the first marriage, it would seem that he also died early and without issue. Of Teresa, the only daughter, there is no trace after the death of her stepmother. John, the youngest of the family, appears to have left no descendants. Cuthbert and Richard are soon seen rising in the esteem of the colony and receiving appointments as Justices of the Peace, an important position in the early days. The former, however, drops from the records in 1676, which is supposed to be the year of his death. He is said to have left one child, a daughter, who married but had no issue.

Thus, it would appear, all the Fenwicks of the Catholic line of Maryland came from Richard, the early legislator's second son by Jane Eltonhead. Yet it was a prolific race, and increased rapidly. But anti-Catholic prejudice had now gained the upper hand in the colony. All enjoyed toleration, except those of the faith of the first two lords proprietary who had established the palatinate as a home for religious liberty. Catholics, sad to say, could no longer hope for preference or to hold positions of profit, honor or trust. This was forbidden by law. From 1689, the year

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of the "Protestant Revolution," therefore, until the struggle for independence, we find no record of the Fenwicks taking part in affairs of state. They continued, however, generally to prosper, even under the drastic restrictions placed upon the adherents of their religion, to stand high in the community, and to exert a wholesome influence for the good of the province.

It took the American Revolution of 1774-1783 to tear down the barriers of intolerance against the Catholics in a colony that had been established by Catholics as an asylum for religious toleration. From that time we see the descendants of the sturdy pioneer lawmaker, together with their co-religionists, coming again into their rights. When the Anglo-American colonies formed their union to resist the unjust encroachments of the mother-country, the Fenwicks rallied gallantly to the standard of freedom and independence. Foremost among them was Col. Ignatius Fenwick, father of the future Dominican priest and bishop of Cincinnati, Ohio.[27]

The good that is in parents is said to pass from generation to generation. Thus Maryland's pioneer Catholic legislator, Cuthbert Fenwick, seems to have transmitted his sturdy character to his posterity. To this day it continues to be a trait among his descendants. They have been important *personae* (despite political disabilities) in the drama of Colonial Maryland and in the later history of the State. They have been almost uniformly true to the religion of their original progenitor. As many of them intermarried with the leading families of their own faith, his blood runs in the veins of the best Catholic circles of what was once Lord Baltimore's palatinate. Some of them, it is true, have occasionally joined lives with those not of the Church. But their fidelity was such that, if they did not make converts of those with whom they were united in wedlock, their children were, as a rule, brought up to be steadfast in their adherence to the Church of Rome. Although few patronymics are more common in Maryland, rarely does one meet with a Fenwick who does not profess fidelity to Christ's Vicar on earth. As a noted Protestant author expresses it, "Through evil, and through good, after the lapse of many years, in the midst of vast social

[27] *Archives of Maryland* (Vol. xviii), *Muster Rolls, passim*, give the names of a number of Fenwicks who served in the Revolutionary War.

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and political revolutions, they have clung with the fondness of children to the faith of their first forefather."[28] Nor is this true only of those who remained in the place of their origin. It is perhaps equally true of those descended from the same line in Kentucky, Missouri, and other parts of the South and West.

Like their first American forebear again, everywhere have they been conspicuous for their civic virtues. Everywhere, in wealth or in poverty, in fortune good or ill, they have stood high in the localities in which they lived. Without fear of contradiction may it be said that few other Maryland families have so faithfully maintained the best traditions of their colonial sires. From the beginning of the stormy days that led to the American Revolution to the present time, many have been the responsible positions, civil, military and political, filled with credit by descendants of Cuthbert Fenwick. So also have they been among our most highly honored and deeply respected Catholic clergy and hierarchy. Not a few have entered various sisterhoods in different parts of the country. No doubt the blood and character inherited from the pioneer Catholic legislator, together with the careful religious training so uniformly given their children by parents of this stock, had their share in the formation and development of these vocations.

Two of the Catholic pioneer's descendants, Right Rev. Edward D. Fenwick, O.P., and Right Rev. Benedict J. Fenwick, S.J., were respectively the first Bishop of Cincinnati and the second of Boston. Another, Rev. Enoch Fenwick, S.J., was mentioned for a mitre more than once. Rev. John C. Fenwick was the first English-speaking American to enter the Order of Saint Dominic, Rev. George Fenwick, S.J., was a distinguished educator. The last of the name to be raised to the priesthood is Rev. Francis L. Fenwick, S.J., ordained the past year Three other clergymen whom we recall, of a different patronymic, but descended from the early law-giver, were Revs. Nicholas D. Young, O.P., Nicholas R. Young, O.P., and Benjamin Young, S.J. Time and space do not permit us to attempt an enumeration of those of his posterity who have attained distinction in the civil life.

[28] Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 208.

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Cuthbert Fenwick, though of a noble family, needed no blazonry of rank or factitious honor of ancestry to give him a standing and influence in the colony which he helped to plant. His own sterling qualities and unselfish devotion to the public welfare made him a power for good, as well as brought him the regard that he richly deserved. A man whose presence would be desirable in any community, he was all-important in an enterprise like that of Lord Baltimore. No doubt, like every good man, he left his impress upon the colony, and the character which it continued to maintain, in spite of revolution and intolerance, was in no small measure due to his influence.

V. F. O'DANIEL, O.P., S.T.M.,
Catholic University of America,
Washington, D. C.

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THE CHURCH IN NORTH AMERICA (GREENLAND) IN THE MIDDLE AGES

I

Some time in the second half of the tenth century, perhaps in the decade following 970, there came to Iceland a Norwegian immigrant, Eric Thorwaldsson by name, though usually known as Eric the Red. The early settlers of Iceland, the men who had "taken land" two or three generations before, had appropriated the better part of the country, and Eric was forced to set up his homestead in the bleak and barren wastes on the northwestern shores of the island. Later he moved farther south into the more interesting and hospitable region of Broadfirth. Eric the Red was of a restless disposition; he was proud and wilful and had an unruly temper. He had been forced to leave Norway because of man-slaying and in Iceland, too, he found it difficult to avoid the bloodfeud. During his brief stay on the island he was twice found guilty of bloodshed, with the result that he and his entire household were finally outlawed.

There was a story current in Iceland of one Gunnbjörn whose ship had been driven westward many years before till it touched a new land which the Icelanders called Gunnbjörn's-reef. Eric the Red had for some time been preparing for a voyage, and soon after the moot had acted on the charges against him, he quietly sailed his ship out of Broadfirth and entered the unknown seas.

Three years later Eric returned to Broadfirth. He had found the "reef" and had named it Greenland, "for he said that men would be the more ready to go thither if it had a good name." He made peace with his chief enemy in Iceland and began to seek recruits for a colonizing venture in the new land. In this he was immediately successful; the summer after his return twenty-five ships sailed to Greenland, of which only fourteen were able to complete the perilous journey; the rest were wrecked or driven back to Iceland. Are the Priest, who inserted an account of the settlement of Greenland in his "Book of Settlements," states that the colony was founded "sixteen winters before Christendom was made law in Iceland."[1] This calculation would

[1] *Landnáma-bók*, ii, c. 12 (VIGFUSSON and POWELL, *Origines Islandicae*, i, 72–76). *Cf.* (ARE, *Libellus Islandorum*, c. 6 (*ibid.*, 294).

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place the event in the summer of 984. Other sources place it a year or two later. The annalists seem to favor 986.[2]

About forty or fifty miles northwest of Cape Farewell the coast line is broken by a series of fjords that run far back into the land. Here (in the present Julianehaab district) Eric had decided to plant his colony. His own homestead he located at Brentlithe on the Ericsfirth, which became in a sense the center and the capital of the settlement. Most of his followers built their homes in this lower fjord district, but a smaller number sailed some two hundred miles farther to the northwest where another series of fjords offered favorable conditions for settlement. Thus there grew up two colonies, the smaller West Settlement in the present Godthaab area and the larger East Settlement farther down the coast.

The men and women who settled Greenland doubtless all, or nearly all, worshipped according to heathen rites. They cannot, however, have been wholly unacquainted with the Christian faith, for in 981 or thereabouts one Frederick, a German missionary (he is called bishop in the Icelandic sources), had begun to preach the Christian gospel to the Icelanders, though with no appreciable success.[3] Both Iceland and Greenland accepted Christianity about the year 1000, the conversion being due largely to the missionary zeal of the king of Norway.

In the summer of 999, Leif, the son of Eric the Red, made a journey to Norway and spent the following winter at the court of Olaf Trygvesson. The king took a liking to the young Greenlander and asked him to undertake the conversion of the Greenland colony. Leif accepted the mission with some reluctance, for he "thought that this errand would be hard to carry through in Greenland." The king found "a priest and other learned men" who were willing to undertake the long journey, and Leif set sail for the west.[4]

In Old Norse life matters of religion were an important activity of the organized state, and the question whether to adopt a new faith must in some way or other have come before the

[2] Storm, *Islandske Annaler*; see entries for the year 986.

[3] *Cristne Saga*, cc. 1, 2 (*Origines Icelandicae*, i, 376–383); Storm, *Islandske Annaler, anno*, 981.

[4] *Olaf Trygvesson's Saga*, c. 103 (*Codex Frisianus*, 157).

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Althing, or folk-moot, which was the governing authority in the republic, though of such popular action there is no record. But the Saga tells us that Leif's mission was quite successful.

> Eric did not take it at all eagerly, that he should put away his own way of faith, but Theodhild [his wife] accepted it at once, and had a church built not very near the house. This church was called Theodhild's church. She used to hold her prayers there with such folk as took upon them Christendom, and they were many. Theodhild would not live with Eric after she had taken the faith and this grieved him very much.[5]

II

The physical conditions in the colony were such that only with the greatest difficulty could the Church maintain a normal existence. The settlements were founded on a narrow strip of land along the upper stretches of the fjords, where there was shelter from the keen winds that blew in from the southwest. Here the soil thaws out in the summer and grass grows quite abundantly. But a few miles back are hills and mountains covered with everlasting ice. Under such conditions agriculture was impossible, and practically every form of vegetable food had to be brought from afar; all the metals that are nceded in civilized life also had to be imported from Europe.

The merchants who visited Greenland usually came from Norway; but an occasional ship also came from Iceland, and the merchants of England are likewise known to have traded in Greenland.[6] But such communication as there was with the outer world was often quite irregular; years might pass without the visit of a single ship. In 1308 Bishop Arne of Bergen sent a letter to the bishop of Greenland in which he reported as recent news the death of King Eric, who had passed away nine years earlier.[7]

The population of Greenland in the Middle Ages can scarcely have counted more than 3,000 inhabitants at any time. In an old description of the country the West Settlement is credited with 90 homesteads and the East Settlement with 190.[8] The churches were relatively numerous: twelve in the larger settle-

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[5] *The Saga of Thorfinn Carlsemne*, c. 2 (*Origines Islandicae*), ii, 615.

[6] *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, iii, 160 *ff.*

[7] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, x, 14-15.

[8] *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, iii, 226–229 (*Grönlandiae vetus Chorographia*).

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ment and four in the smaller.[9] The parishes were necessarily small, as the absence of roads and the severity of the weather in winter would not permit long journeys to church.

Ivar Bardsson, who went to Greenland in 1341 or the following year and for a number of years was steward at the Cathedral church,[10] reports that in his day there were two monastic establishments in the colony: "a great monastery dwelt in by regular canons," and "a cloister of nuns of Saint Benedict's Order."[11] These were located in the southern part of the East Settlement, some distance from the center of colonial life.

The monastery was consecrated to Saint Olaf and Saint Augustine. That Saint Olaf, the foremost of the Norwegian saints, should hold the first place in the hearts of the Greenlanders was only natural. It was also to be expected that Saint Nicholas, the patron saint of the seafaring man, should be generally popular on the perilous shores of the Arctic; the cathedral at Gardar was dedicated to Saint Nicholas.[12] Another very popular saint was Saint Thorlak, an Icelandic bishop (1178–1193) whose worship dates from an act by the popular assembly of Iceland in 1199.[13]

Our knowledge of the economic life of Old Greenland is derived largely from a systematic study of material remains. A considerable number of ruins have been explored including the sites of several churches. It appears that the church buildings were nearly all comparatively small, from 23 to 30 feet wide and from 50 to 60 feet long, measured on the outside. As the walls were usually at least 4 feet thick, the room inside was often quite limited. The plan was always rectangular and there was usually no projecting choir. The walls were built of red sandstone, turf, and clay; in one case only (Kakortok) do the ruins show any trace of mortar. The roof was made of wood. The windows were

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[9] The lists vary somewhat. See *Flateyarbok*, iii, 454; *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, iii, 224 (*Gripla*); *Meddelelser om Grönland*, xx, 319–320 (Finnur Jónsson).

[10] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, v, 122; DeCosta, *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, 95.

[11] DeCosta, *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, 92.

[12] *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, iii, 224 (*Gripla*).

[13] *Ibid.*, ii, 773.

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placed in the roof, but the church at Kakortok is the only one that is known to have had glazed windows.[14]

It has long been known that the colony was organized as a diocese with the cathedral at Gardar, a place that has only recently been identified. Gardar was located on the south side of a low, narrow isthmus in the Igaliko region, near an inlet anciently known as Einarsfirth. The soil here is relatively fertile, and the large number of ruins would indicate that this region was the real center of the East Settlement. The walls of the church at Gardar have been traced and show that it was built on the plan of a cross; it seems to have been the only cruciform church in Greenland. Its total length, measured on the inside, was about 74 feet. The nave was 26 feet wide and the choir somewhat narrower. The transepts, extending only 4 feet beyond the walls of the nave, were quite small. There was no projecting apse.[15]

Wood for the necessary church furniture ordinarily had to be imported from Norway. There are occasional groves of birch in Greenland, but few of the trees measure more than a few inches in diameter. A great deal of driftwood finds its way from northern Siberia across the Arctic and southward through Smith Sound; but this would not always prove serviceable for church purposes.[16] It is told that the men who sailed to Vinland loaded their frail ships with grapes and wood for the return voyage.[17] Another possible source of supplies was Markland (evidently the southeastern part of Labrador),[18] where the timber is very plentiful.[19] The churchyards also testify to the poverty of suitable lumber: in a few cases only have traces of coffins been found; ordinarily the Greenlanders buried their dead under large, flat stones.[20]

Greater still was the dearth of iron. Except in a few cases,

[14] *Meddelelser om Grönland*, vi, 75 *ff.*(Holm); xvi, 293 *ff.* (Brun).

[15] *Meddelelser om Grönland*, xvi, 324–330 (Brun).

[16] *Meddelelser om Grönland*, xvi, 198 (Brun); xlviii, 6 (Björnbo).

[17] *The Saga of Eric the Red*, cc. 2–3 (*Origines Islandicae*, ii, 601–603).

[18] Fossum, *The Norse Discovery of America*, 40-41, 64.

[19] Storm, *Islandske Annaler, anno* 1347 (Skalholt Annals). "In that year came a ship from Greenland to Iceland; it was of smaller size than the Icelandic ships. . . . It had fared to Markland, but had been driven hither by storms."

[20] *Meddelelser om Grönland*, vi, 75 *ff.*, 119.

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such coffins as have been found seem to show that they were made with wooden nails. In 1189, a ship came from Greenland to Iceland "which was nailed together with wooden nails."[21] Church bells were probably not common; fragments of a bell have been found in the ruins of the cathedral at Gardar [22] but it is not known whether any other church was provided with a bell.

Cloth of a character suitable for use in the ceremonials of the Church was difficult to obtain. The Greenlanders kept sheep (and also goats) in considerable numbers,[23] but it is unlikely that the cloth woven in those regions could serve the purposes of the Church. Remnants of brown woolen cloth have been found in certain cemeteries, but ordinarily the Greenlanders appear to have buried their dead without shrouds or any other covering.[24]

The supply of cloth, like almost everything else that had to be imported by the colonists, came chiefly from Norway. In 1308, Bishop Arne of Bergen sent four costly outer garments to Bishop Thored in Greenland: "a 'skingr,' a surcoat, and a cowl dyed blue, all lined with gray fur; also a mantle of the same sort of cloth."[25] In 1347 King Magnus and Queen Blanche drew up a will in which they remembered the cathedral in Greenland with one hundred marks (a handsome sum in those days) to be used for the purchase of "costly vestments."[26]

The greatest problem of the church authorities in Greenland seems to have been how to secure the materials necessary for sacramental purposes: oil for the chrism and bread and wine for the Eucharist. Grain does not grow in Greenland. "And yet there are men among those who are counted the wealthiest and most prominent who have tried to sow grain as an experiment; but the great majority in that country do not know what bread is, having never seen it."[27] The foregoing statement from *The*

[21] Storm, *Islandske Annaler, anno* 1189 (*Annales regii*).

[22] *Meddelelser om Grönland*, xx, 289-290.

[23] Larson, *The King's Mirror*, 145.

[24] *Meddelelser om Grönland*, vi, 75 *ff*.

[25] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, x, 14-15.

[26] *Ibid.*, v. 151. Evil days came to the kingdom in the reign of King Magnus, and doubt has been expressed as to whether the cathedral ever did derive profit from the royal will. *Grönlands Historiske Mindesmærker*, iii, 116.

[27] Larson, *The King's Mirror*, 142.

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King's Mirror suggests the mode of life in the thirteenth century; striking confirmation of this appears in a papal bull from near the close of the fifteenth century in which it is told that the inhabitants of Greenland "are accustomed to live upon dried fish and milk for the reason that bread, wine and oil are scarce."[28]

Grain for bread could be obtained in Norway, where all the hardier species are quite generally cultivated; in certain favored localities even wheat is grown with some success. But often years would pass without a cargo of any sort from abroad reaching Greenland, and one can readily see that the priests cannot have been able to celebrate the Mass so regularly or so frequently as the Church requires. In 1237, when Bishop Nicholas was preparing to depart for his new field of work on the edge of the Arctic, Pope Gregory IX prepared a reply to a very significant question that had come to him from the archbishop of Nidaros (Trondhjem). The archbishop had stated that in some of the dioceses of his province there was great dearth of wheat and had asked whether a wafer made of other materials might be given to the worshippers instead, to which the Pope replied in the negative.[29]

The archbishop had also stated that there was lack of wine in those churches, "for rarely or never is any wine to be obtained in those parts," and had inquired whether beer or some other drink might be substituted; but to this the Pope would not assent. He did suggest, however, that the consecrated bread alone might be given to the congregation, "as the custom is in certain parts."[30]

It seems evident that the church in Greenland also suffered from a lack of priests and other church officials, at least in the first century of its history. The clergy was recruited from Iceland and Norway; that the colony had any facilities for the education of a local priesthood is quite unlikely. Adam, the chronicler of Bremen, tells us that in 1054 envoys came to Bremen from Iceland, Greenland, and the Orkneys requesting that priests be

[28] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xvii, 644; *Catholic Historical Review*, iii, 226; Olson and Bourne, *The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot*, 73.

[29] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, i, 14.

[30] *Ibid.* ". . . quamquam dari possit populo panis simpliciter benedictus, prout in quibusdam partibus fieri consuevit." See also *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, ii, 766–767.

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sent to those lands.[31] This lack of ordained pastors is also reflected in the burial customs of earlier times as described in one of the Vinland sagas.

> This custom had been in Greenland since Christianity came out thither that men were buried there at the homesteads when they died in unconsecrated earth. They used to set a pole up from their breast, and afterward, when clerks came there, then they would pull up the pole and pour in holy water, and hold the chant over it, though it were a long time afterward.[32]

Though the poverty and hardships of life in Old Greenland must have been very great and very real, the colony also had certain sources of abundant wealth.

> It is reported that the pasturage is good and that there are large and fine farms in Greenland. The farmers raise cattle and sheep in large numbers and make butter and cheese in great quantities. The people subsist chiefly on these foods and on beef; but they also eat the flesh of various kinds of game, such as reindeer, whales, seals and bears.[33]

The churches derived their income from these sources, especially from the riches of the sea. Ivar Bardsson tells of a bay where "there were many whales and much hunting for them," of an island where white bears were plentiful, and of another island where many reindeer resorted in the autumn; but there could be neither hunting nor fishing in these places without the bishop's consent, for the fishing and the hunting rights belonged to the cathedral church. The cathedral also derived revenue from certain hot springs which were believed to have medicinal virtues and from a "forest" in which cattle were pastured.[34] The endowments of the other churches appear to have been of a similar character.

In 1274, the Council of Lyons decreed that for a period of six years the clergy should contribute a tithe to be used for the promotion of the cause of Christendom in the Holy Land. The precious metals were scarce in Norway and even more so in the Norwegian colonies, and the archbishop, to whom the collection of the tithe had been entrusted, was reluctant to undertake the

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[31] Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammenburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum*, iii, c. 23.

[32] *Saga of Thorfinn Carlsemne*, c. 3 (*Origines Islandicae*, ii, 617).

[33] Larson, *The King's Mirror*, 145.

[34] DeCosta, *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, 90–93.

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task.[35] He reported "that the only tithes that can be gathered in Greenland are composed of skins of cattle and seals, tusks, and ropes of whales [walrus hide] which . . . cannot be sold for any fair price."[36] The Pope replied that the tithes should be collected and the materials exchanged in the best way possible for gold or silver, which was presumably done.

In 1327 the clergy of Greenland contributed to a second sexennial tithe, the payment this time taking the form of walrus tusks. The collector, Bertrand de Ortolis, received in all 127 *lisponsos*[37] of this commodity, which he sold to a Flemish merchant for 12 pounds and 14 sous Tournois, a considerable sum for a diocese with a population so small as that of Gardar. The collector also accounts for three *lisponsos* of walrus tusks received at the same time in payment of the Peter's pence.[38]

There seems to be no record of any subsequent payment to the papal treasury. In 1345 Archbishop Paul and his suffragans, in apportioning a tithe due at that time among the various dioceses of the province, definitely excused the Faroes and Gardar from sharing in the payment.[39] In 1402 Boniface IX directed Bishop Jacob of Bergen to collect revenues for the Holy See in several dioceses including Gardar;[40] but as all communication with Greenland ceased a few years later, it is not likely that the clergy of Gardar made any contributions in the fifteenth century.

III

For more than a century the new Church in Greenland was without episcopal supervision. It may be that during this period the colony enjoyed an occasional visit from an alien bishop, as

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[35] *Catholic Historical Review*, iii, 217 *ff.*; Munch, *Pavelige Nuntiers Regnskabs og Dagböger*, 139 *ff.*

[36] *Catholic Historical Review*, iii, 222 (translation slightly corrected). The ropes of walrus hide are mentioned in *The King's Mirror*, 140, 142.

[37] The Norwegian *lispund* is usually translated "stone"; it should probably be reckoned at 12 pounds.

[38] Munch, *Pavelige Nuntiers. Regnskabs og Dagböger*, 25, 28. Dr. Jelić has attempted to show on the basis of the Peter's pence of 1327 that Greenland had a population of at least 10,000. (*L'évangélisation de l'Amèrique avant Christophe Colomb*). The errors in Jelić's calculation are discussed by Storm in *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 3. Række, ii, 396–397.

[39] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, iv, 239.

[40] *Ibid.*, vi, 396 *ff.*

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was the case in Iceland, where at least six bishops officiated at intervals before the island received its own episcopal organization. It is also possible that after 1056, when Islaf was consecrated bishop of Skalholt (Iceland), Greenland was regarded as officially or unofficially joined to the new diocese; but this is conjecture merely.

During the eleventh century the Scandinavian lands continued a part of the great province of Bremen. But the relations between the Saxon archbishops and the Northern kings were not always cordial, and the Pope was finally induced to permit the establishment of a new province with the Danish (now Swedish) city of Lund as the metropolitan see (1104).

The new archbishop proceeded at once with the organization of new dioceses in the Norwegian colonies. A new bishopric was established in northern Iceland (Holar) in 1106. The Faroes were organized as a diocese about the same date. It seems likely that the churches in Greenland received their first resident bishop early in the following decade, perhaps in 1112.

We read in one of the Icelandic annals that in 1112 "Eric the bishop" went on a journey, presumably to Greenland.[41] It is stated again that in 1121 "Eric, bishop of Greenland, went to seek Vinland."[42] Eric is also mentioned in the "Book of Settlements" as bishop of the Greenlanders.[43] There has been some dispute as to whether he was actual bishop in Greenland: Finnur Jónsson holds that he was probably a missionary bishop[44] like Frederic the Saxon who had labored in Iceland in the tenth century. But it must be remembered that Greenland was no longer a field for missionary effort, having accepted the Christian faith three generations before.

Bishop Eric evidently did not return from his voyage, for two years later the Greenlanders took steps to secure a new bishop. On the motion of Socke Thoresson, the leading man in the colony, the all-moot sent Einar Sockesson to Norway to request a bishop at King Sigurd's court. "Einar had with him much tusk-ivory and walrus-hide to help himself forward with

[41] Storm, *Islandske Annaler*, 251.
[42] *Ibid.*, anno 1121.
[43] C. 6 (*Origines Islandicae*, i, 30).
[44] *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 5. Række, i, 119.

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the chief people." For King Sigurd he brought a bear, evidently a white bear, and the king was pleased with the present.

King Sigurd found Einar's request quite reasonable and asked Arnold, one of the clerks at the royal court, "to take up this task for God's sake and his prayers." Arnold accepted the appointment with great reluctance: Greenland was far distant and the people there were hard to manage. He proceeded to Lund, however, where he was consecrated by Archbishop Asser (1124), and two years later he took up the work in the new field where he labored for twenty-four years.[45]

Bishop Arnold seems to have been a typical medieval prelate, humble and devout in his private life, but zealous and unbending in all matters touching what he regarded as the rights of his office and his diocese. He established his see at Gardar,[46] one of the best farms in the colony, which was also the meeting place of the all-moot. Bishop Arnold resigned his see in 1150, and apparently returned to Norway. Two years later he was appointed bishop of the new Norwegian see of Hamar.[47]

Arnold's successor was John Knut, concerning whom almost nothing of importance is known. He was consecrated in 1150 and governed his diocese till his death in 1187.[48] In 1152 Nicholas Brakspeare, Cardinal Bishop of Albano, came to Norway on a legatine mission with instructions to create a new Norwegian province with Nidaros as the metropolitan see. The diocese of Gardar became one of the suffragan sees of the new archbishopric. Consequently Bishop John's successor, another John (also called "Smirill"), was consecrated (and also appointed, it seems) by Archbishop Eystein (1188). He had probably at one time served as clerk at the royal court, though his by-name "Sverresfostre" might indicate that he had been brought up in King Sverre's family.

Bishop John II sailed for Greenland in 1189 but was forced

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[45] The story of Arnold's appointment and consecration is told in *The Tale of the Greenlanders* (*Origines Islandicae*, ii, 748 *ff*).

[46] Ivar Bardsson speaks of a church at Stensness in the West Settlement, "where in former times was the bishop's seat," but there is no mention of this in any other source. DeCosta, *Sailing Directions of Henry Hudson*, 95.

[47] Storm, *Islandske Annaler*, anno 1152.

[48] Storm, *Islandske Annaler*, anno 1187.

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to winter in Iceland, and did not reach Gardar before 1190.[49] In 1202 he set out on a long journey to Norway and Rome. He spent the winter in Iceland, and on Shear-Thursday, April 3, 1203, we are told that he assisted Bishop Paul at the consecration of "a great quantity of chrism."[50] He died in 1209.

The news of Bishop John's death can scarcely have reached Norway before 1210. His successor, Bishop Helgi, apparently sailed from Norway in 1211, for an entry in the Icelandic Annals appears to indicate that he spent the following winter at Flat-isle.[51] The new prelate was the son of a Norwegian merchant who, it is believed, had important connections in Greenland.[52] He arrived at Gardar in 1212 and administered the see for eighteen years.

The next in the order of succession was Nicholas, who was consecrated in 1234. The delay in filling the vacancy was probably due to the fact that the metropolitan office had become vacant in the year of Bishop Helgi's death. The new Archbishop, Sigurd, was consecrated in 1231 but did not return from the customary journey to Rome before the next year. The annalists have almost nothing to say about Bishop Nicholas. The year of his death is uncertain; it is variously given as 1240, 1241, and 1242.

For nearly three hundred years Greenland was a republic. Every year toward the close of July the important men of the two settlements gathered in the all-moot at Gardar to discuss and determine colonial affairs. Except for a brief period early in the tenth century, when some shadowy form of dependence on the Norwegian crown seems to have been recognized, Greenland was absolutely independent. But in the thirteenth century the political freedom of the colony was surrendered. Cardinal William of Sabina, who came to Norway in 1247 to crown the great King Hakon, when asked concerning the right of the Norwegian crown to Iceland gave a formal opinion that it was "unfair that that land should not be subject to some king like all others in the world."[53] This form of reasoning would also apply in the case of Greenland.

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[49] According to Alexander VI's bull (cited above) August was the only month in which the coast of Greenland could be approached with safety.

[50] *Páls Saga*, c. 7 (*Origines Islandicae*, i, 515).

[51] STORM, *Islandske Annaler*, 23 ,63.

[52] *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, ii, 757.

[53] *Hakon's Saga*, c. 257.

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The desires of King Hakon were doubtless taken into account in the selection of a new pastor for the diocese of Gardar. Bishop Olaf, who had been consecrated the year before, sailed in the summer of 1247 with explicit instructions to secure the submission of the Greenlanders to the Norwegian crown.[54] He was not immediately successful, however, for the all-moot did not acknowledge the sovereignty of King Hakon before 1261.[55]

The following year Bishop Olaf sailed for Norway, perhaps to report on the success of his diplomatic mission. But his ship was wrecked on the coast of Iceland and he was forced to remain on that island for two years He finally arrived in Norway in 1264. After an absence of nine years he returned to his diocese,[56] where he died in 1280.

For eight years the See of Gardar remained vacant. This may have been due to a bitter strife raging at the time between the archbishop and his chapter concerning the right to select bishops for the Norwegian dependencies. The king was finally called in to mediate, and in 1296 it was agreed that the archbishop should select the candidates with the advice and consent of the chapter, the rule to apply to the sees in Iceland, Greenland, the Faroes, and the Hebrides, but apparently not to the Orkneys.[57]

Bishop Thored, who had been consecrated in 1288, served his diocese actively for twenty years. He returned to Norway in 1309 where he remained till his death five years later.[58]

Thored's successor, Bishop Arne, was consecrated the same year (1314) and remained in charge of the churches of Gardar for thirty-two years. During his episcopate communication between Norway and Greenland came to be very irregular. Acting on an unfounded report, the authorities at Nidaros in 1343 consecrated John Skalli bishop of Gardar, for "Archbishop Paul did not know that Arne was still living."[59]

John Skalli never visited Greenland and cannot, therefore, be counted among those who actually administered the See of

[54] *Ibid.*

[55] *Ibid.*, c. 311.

[56] Storm, *Islandske Annaler, anno* 1271.

[57] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, iii, 44*ff*.

[58] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, vii, 62, 68; ix, 104; Storm, *Islandske Annaler, anno* 1314.

[59] Storm, *Islandske Annaler*, 273-274.

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Gardar. After a few years he received a diocese in Iceland, of which he came into possession only after a long conflict with the local clergy.

Meanwhile Bishop Arne died (in 1349), and for nineteen years the colony was without a bishop.[60] This long vacancy was doubtless due to the demoralized condition of the Norwegian church after the Black Death, which swept over northern Europe in the year of Bishop Arne's death. "Of this pestilence died Archbishop Arne and all the canons in Nidaros except one whose name was Lodin; and he held an election and chose Olaf, the abbot of Holm, to be archbishop."[61] It was during this vacancy that Ivar Bardsson, who has been referred to above as steward at one time of the cathedral property at Gardar, lived in Greenland. Ivar was a young Norwegian priest who went out to the colony in 1341 (or 1342) on business for the Church in Bergen.[62]

In 1365 Brother Alf, a cleric residing in Bergen, was consecrated Bishop of Gardar. Three years later he took up his duties in the little northern see and apparently served his parishioners continuously for nine years. The year following his consecration we find that he transferred to Saint Michael's Monastery in Bergen certain plots of ground near this monastery on which he had built houses with his own money and with assistance from the cloister.[63] It seems possible to infer from this that he had been a man of affairs who had entered the clerical profession somewhat late in life.

Brother Alf was the last Bishop of Gardar who actually resided in his diocese. He laid down the crozier in 1377, but the news of his death did not reach Norway before 1383. Henry, later bishop in the Orkneys, was appointed to succeed him, but he never visited Greenland. Meanwhile the see was apparently administered by a bishop's official; such an *officialis* testified to the legality of a marriage in 1409.[64] When Björn the Jerusalem-farer was in Greenland in the decade following Bishop Alf's

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[60] Storm, *Islandske Annaler, anno* 1368 (p. 228).

[61] *Ibid.*, p. 276.

[62] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, v, 122; *cf.* Munch, *Det norske Folks Historie, Unionsperioden*, i, 314–315.

[63] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xii, 80.

[64] *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, iii, 148.

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death, "an old priest held the episcopal seat and performed all manner of episcopal duties."[65]

IV

During the fourteenth century the sailings between Norway and Greenland became constantly more infrequent and irregular. The annals record that a ship came from the colony in 1410, but after that date there is silence. Left wholly to their own resources the old settlements were doomed, for civilized life could be maintained only through communication with Europe.

How and when the colony finally disappeared cannot be known, but there is some evidence that it still existed at the close of the fifteenth century. This evidence is found in a papal letter already referred to, in which the Pope excuses Bishop Matthias and the Church of Gardar from the payment of certain dues to the Roman chancery. In this document Pope Alexander states "that no vessel has touched there [Greenland] during the past eighty years." He also has been informed, he tells us, that "no memory of the Christian religion is found except a corporal, which is shown to the people once a year, and on which, it is said, the last priest who officiated there consecrated the body of Christ a hundred years ago."[66] So closely does this information and other facts recorded in the letter agree with what can be learned from other sources that scholars are inclined to believe that news may have come from the settlements in the Arctic shortly before 1492.[67]

The decline of the colony in Greenland began with the submission of 1261. It was not long before the Norwegian king stretched forth his hand to seize the trade of the Arctic. In the fourteenth century the king's officials alone had access to the wares of Greenland. Merchants who traded on their own account were forbidden even to approach the shore.[68]

There is some reason to believe that in the fourteenth century

[65] *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, iii, 435 *ff.*

[66] Olson and Bourne, *The Northmen, Columbus, and Cabot*, 73–74; *The Catholic Historical Review*, iii, 225–226; *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xvii, 644. The letter was probably drawn up in 1492.

[67] *Historisk Tidsskrift*, 3. Række, ii, 401 (Storm); *Meddelelser om Grönland*, xlviii, 13–14 (Björnbo).

[68] *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, iii, 435.

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the ice-masses off the shore of the East Settlement increased materially in volume; consequently it became very difficult to make the land and occasionally the royal merchant ship was wrecked. The regularity of communication was further disturbed by the Black Death; after 1349 no ship seems to have sailed to Greenland for six years. The union of the Norwegian and Danish crowns (1380) also had unfortunate results for Greenland: the kings in Copenhagen showed no real interest in the distant dependency except as they insisted on their commercial monopoly.

In 1266 the sources first make mention of a native population, the *Skrælings*, who occupied the coast some distance north of the West Settlement.[69] There is no indication that the Greenlanders tried to convert their Eskimo neighbors; on the contrary, if we can trust a late transcription of a document that has since disappeared, some of the Greenlanders renounced the faith and joined the heathen about 1342. If Ivar Bardsson is correctly reported, the West Settlement was attacked by hostile *Skrælings* a few years later and completely destroyed. It is evident that the colony was hard pressed, for in 1355 King Magnus ordered the royal merchant ship to be fitted out for a voyage to the Arctic to assist in maintaining Christianity.[70] The Icelandic annals report that in 1379 the Eskimos attacked the East Settlement, slew eighteen men, and carried off two boys into captivity. This was two years after Bishop Alf, the last bishop in Greenland, had closed his labors.

. . . . . .

The Diocese of Gardar ceased to be a living reality in the ecclesiastical world soon after the death of Bishop Alf, but for more than a hundred years its ghost continued to haunt the Church in the North. During the period from 1377 to 1530 at least eighteen churchmen seem to have borne the title "Bishop of Gardar," though, so far as we know, with a possible single exception, none of them ever tried to find and visit the diocese that was entrusted to his care. In some cases the honor conferred was frankly titular, but in certain other instances that can scarcely have been true.

[69] *Hauksbók*, 500; *Meddelelser om Grönland*, xxxi, 23 (Thalbitzer).
[70] *Meddelelser om Grönland*, xlviii, 11*ff*.

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Shortly before 1377 the Pope reserved the See of Gardar to the Roman curia[71] and the later appointments to this office were made at Rome instead of at Nidaros. The Norwegian archbishops had apparently sought to find candidates whose families had mercantile or other interests in Greenland and who would be willing to brave the perilous sea route around Cape Farewell. The new arrangement was exceedingly unfortunate in that it failed to find men of that character and left the Church in Greenland without normal direction and government. The bishop was the natural leader of the moral forces in the colony; and with episcopal guidance and supervision Old Greenland might have continued to remain within the circle of light.

The following list of bishops who received their appointments to the See of Gardar subsequent to the death of Bishop Alf is added chiefly to complete the record. The list shows a continuous series of appointments except for a possible interruption during the two earlier decades of the sixteenth century. In one or two instances the identity may be in doubt, but in all the other cases the evidence, so far as it goes, is clear and explicit.

Bishop *Henry* appears in the documents for the first time in 1386; he was probably consecrated the year before. In 1391 he was resident and active in the diocese of the Orkneys, to which see he was translated three years later. He died in 1396.[72]

There is a single allusion to a Bishop *George* who died in 1389 or earlier. He was bishop by appointment from Avignon (this was the period of the Great Western Schism).[73]

When Henry was given the See of the Orkneys, Bishop *John* of that diocese was translated to Gardar "for the better utility of both sees."[74]

On the death of Bishop George, *Peter Staras,* a Franciscan friar of unknown nationality, was appointed bishop by Clement VII (Avignon).[75]

In 1401 the Roman curia appointed *Berthold,* probably in

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[71] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum,* xvii, 185.

[72] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum,* iii, 357; iv, 398; xvii, 142, 144, 147–149, 153; Storm, *Islandske Annaler, anno* 1391.

[73] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum,* xvii, 132.

[74] *Ibid.,* xvii, 147–148.

[75] *Ibid.,* xvii, 132.

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succession to John (earlier of the Orkneys). Berthold employed the title "Bishop of Gardar," in extant documents from 1401 to 1426.[76]

In 1402 *Peter*, Bishop of Strengness (Sweden), was released from this diocese and translated to Gardar; six months later he was restored to his former see.[77]

In a document of 1411, John XXIII (Bologna) reported that he had recently heard of the death of *Eskil*, Bishop of Gardar. It is possible that Eskil had been appointed from Avignon in succession to Peter Staras.[78]

The same document notes the appointment of *Jacob Petersson Treppe*, a Danish friar (Franciscan), to succeed Eskil. Later in the same year Bishop Jacob acted for the bishop of Roeskild (Denmark) as "*in spiritualibus generalis vicarius.*" His death is noted in a document of 1425.[79]

Robert Ringman, a Franciscan friar of English nationality, was appointed to the episcopal office in Greenland made vacant by the death of Brother Jacob (1425).[80]

Robert's successor was *Gobelinus Bolant* (or *Volant*), an Augustinian friar and a German, who received his appointment in 1431. The following year he was translated to the Danish see of Börglum [81] Gobelinus had earlier served in Rome as penitentiary.

John Erler de Moys, a Franciscan friar (also a German and former penitentiary), received the see of Gardar in 1432, after Gobelinus had been promoted to Börglum.[82]

The tenure of Bishop John must have been a matter of a few months only, for there are two references to a Bishop *Nicholas* (he is called Michael in one document) who died as Bishop of Gardar in 1433.[83]

Bartholomew de St. Ypolito, a lector of the Dominican Order, was appointed to succeed Bishop Nicholas in 1433.[84] Bishop

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[76] *Ibid.*, xiii, 52, 70; xvi, 56, 74; xvii, 185–187.
[77] *Ibid.*, xvii, 202.
[78] *Ibid.*, xvii, 257.
[79] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xvi, 62; xvii, 257, 270, 344, 936 *ff.*
[80] *Ibid.*, xvii, 344–346, 936 *ff.*
[81] *Ibid.*, xvii, 388–389, 948.
[82] *Ibid.*, xvii, 389, 392–393, 948–949.
[83] *Ibid.*, xvii, 403–404.
[84] *Ibid.*, xvii, 403–405.

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Bartholomew's nationality is not known, but he was clearly not a North European.

Among the prelates who were present at a church council held in Oslo in 1440 was *Gregory*, Bishop of Gardar. He was also in attendance at a similar meeting held in Bergen ten years later.[86]

Andrew Mus, a Danish ecclesiastic, begins to appear in the documents as Bishop of Gardar about 1466. He had served earlier as *officialis* in Skalholt (Iceland) and was at the time vicar of the see of Linköping (Sweden). The year of his death has not been found, but it was not later than 1483.[86]

Bishop Andrew's successor was *Jacob Blaa*, a Dominican friar (also a Dane), whose appointment dated from 1483. He seems to have borne the title for nearly nine years at the longest, but finally resigned the honor to make room it may be believed, for a candidate who had ambitions to become something more than a titular bishop.[87]

In 1492, Innocent VIII designated *Matthias Knutsson*, a Danish monk of the Benedictine Order, bishop of the churches in Greenland. The appointment was subsequently confirmed by Alexander VI. It was clearly the desire of Bishop Matthias to set out on the long journey to the lost diocese at the earliest opportunity offered, but there is no record that the opportunity ever appeared.[88]

The last Bishop of Gardar was *Vincentius Petersson Kampe*, a Danish cleric attached to the court of Christian II, who received his appointment in 1519. King Christian was planning to send an expedition into the northwestern seas to restore communication with the abandoned colony; and the selection of a bishop was a part of this plan. But the interest of the restless king was soon diverted to other matters, and the project was abandoned.[89]

LAURENCE M. LARSON, Ph.D.,
University of Illinois,
Urbana, Illinois.

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[86] *Ibid.*, iv, 676; *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, iii, chronology, *annis* 1440, 1442, 1450.

[86] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xvi, 249; xvii, 606–607; *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker*, iii, 188–190.

[87] *Diplomatarium Norvegicum*, xvii, 606–607, 638, 1131.

[88] *Ibid.*, xvii, 638, 643–647, 1131.

[89] *Ibid.*, xvii, 730, 1164–1167.

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Bibliographical Note

The materials for the study of the history of Greenland are practically all to be found in the following four great collections, though some of the documents have also been published elsewhere in more convenient forms:

Diplomatarium Norvegicum, edited by Chr. C. A. Lange *et al.* 17 vols. Christiania, 1847–1913.

Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker. 3 vols. Kjöbenhavn, 1838–1845. This work includes virtually all the literary sources and a considerable number of diplomatic documents; it has been edited with much care and is useful for editorial notes as well as for the documentary materials.

Islandske Annaler, edited by Gustav Storm. Christiania, 1888. . . . Icelandic annals to 1578 with occasional notices of matters touching Greenland.

Meddelelser om Grönland. Köbenhavn, 1881–1918. A series of reports covering topographical and archaeological investigations in Greenland. Vols. i, vi, xvi, xx, and xlviii have been found particularly useful for this study.

The following have also been found useful, though in most cases they duplicate materials found in *Grönlands historiske Mindesmærker.* The writer has preferred to use these in his footnote references because the editions are in some cases more recent and in other cases they contain English translations.

Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammenburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum* (Mon. Ger. Hist. Scriptores, vii). Hanover, 1846.

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PAUL DE SAINT PIERRE

THE FIRST GERMAN-AMERICAN PRIEST OF THE WEST

It is not one of the brilliant periods of our Catholic history which this article intends to treat, nor is it one of the Church's great saints or scholars whose footsteps we are about to trace on the rough paths of our early western days. The times were out of joint; a period of transition had set in; the political changes had brought about a sad disorganization of society; and the Church needed men of strong nerves, as well as of strong faith, to uphold her rights and to protect her interests and those of her children unto the dawn of a better day. The scene is the old Illinois Country, once so renowned for its flourishing Indian Missions; the period is the time immediately following our Revolutionary War; and the central figure is the courageous German Carmelite, P. Paul de Saint Pierre, successively pastor of Cahokia, 1785–1789, Ste. Genevieve, 1789–1797, and of St. Gabriel's at Iberville, 1804–1826.

For many years the shadowy figure of a wandering Carmelite monk flitted across the pages of our histories and magazines; we shall endeavor to give him "a local habitation and a name."

The earliest official testimony concerning P. Paul de St. Pierre is found in the Report, which the newly appointed Prefect of the Missions in the United States, Dr. John Carroll, sent to the Prefect of the Propaganda at Rome, Cardinal Antonelli, February 27, 1785:

> As to the Catholics who are in the territory bordering on the river called the Mississippi and in all that region which, following that river, extends to the Atlantic Ocean, and from it extends to the limits of Carolina, Virginia and Pennsylvania—this tract of country contains, I hear, many Catholics, formerly Canadians, who speak French, and I fear that they are destitute of priests. Before I received Your Eminence's letters there went to them a priest, German by birth, but who came last from France; he professes to belong to the Carmelite Order: he was furnished with no sufficient testimonials from his lawful superior. What he is doing and what is the condition of the Church in those parts, I expect soon to learn. The jurisdiction of the Bishop of Quebec formerly extended to some parts of that region; but I do not know whether he wishes to exercise any authority there, now that all these parts are subject to the United States.[1]

[1] J. G. Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 257. A few months before this document was written, the well-known Father Farmer of Philadelphia gave Father de Saint Pierre a letter of introduction to the Prefect Apostolic of Baltimore, dated October 9, 1784:

"Rev. Sir:—The bearer, being already known to Your Reverence, needs not my

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The question arises, who was this German priest, the Carmelite monk, lately arrived from France, and now on his way to the distant, almost unknown western country, the unwitting cause of such mingled feelings of hope and misgiving in Dr. Carroll's breast. There was then a German priest in the West, P. Bernard de Limpach, the first canonical pastor of St. Louis (1776–1789), but he was a Capuchin and came from New Orleans. Msgr. Carroll's "German priest," the Carmelite can be no one else than our P. Paul de St. Pierre. The French designation need not cause the least difficulty. Changing one's name was then of frequent occurrence, even among men of high standing. Some of the most honored German pioneer-priests of the East are known to history, not by their original surnames, but by some American equivalent. Thus Father Ferdinand Farmer, the Vicar-General of Bishop Carroll, had Americanized his name from F. Steinmeyer, Meyer signifying farmer; Father Matthias Manners was originally M. Sittensperger, Sitten being the German for manners; and Prince Gallitzin was known among his parishioners as Father Smith, a matronymic derived from his mother's maiden name, von Schmettau. A missionary among Americans of that day might well find his long German appellation a serious hindrance to his spiritual activities. The case, however, of our German missionary with the French name was somewhat different. He is represented as a member of the Carmelite Order, coming from France, and presumably from some French monastery. Now, whilst it was customary among the Capuchins that the novice should, in addition to the name of his patron saint, be distinguished by the name of his birthplace as, for

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commendation. When he arrived during the war, he immediately by letter signified to me his desire to be a missionary in these parts. He designed to fix himself at the Illinois. I see no reason why I should not be glad of his zeal, nor why Your Reverence should not grant him necessary faculties, *servatis servandis*. You may be assured that nothing happened this long time so agreeable to me as your appointment to the office of Prefect Apostolic. I will not congratulate with you, but with ourselves, that so seasonable an establishment was made of which I may truly say '*magno me liberasti metu*.' Allow me to express my sentiments. Let us rely on the goodness of Divine Providence and fear nothing. *Commendo me impense in Vestra Sta.*

"Rev. Sir, Your most humble and obedient servant,

"FERDINAND FARMER."

Cf. American Catholic Researches, Vol. xxiii, No. 3.

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example, P. Bernard a Limpach, from the village Limpach in Luxembourg—the Carmelites adhered to the practice of adding the name of a secondary patron-saint to the main one, as for instance, the celebrated Peter a Sancto Andrea, Valentinus a Sancto Amando, Sebastianus a Sancto Paulo, and many others clearly show. The designation Paulus a Sancto Petro, in French Paul de Saint Pierre, would then be our Carmelite missionary's title in the Order.

But what was P. Paul de Saint Pierre's original family name? In a bill of complaints presented October 23, 1785, to the ecclesiastical authorities at Baltimore, by John Edgar and Louis Tournier against de Saint Pierre, we find among other charges the following:

> The Minister, who is a German, has changed his name. He is called here St. Pierre, but in true German, Heiligenstein.[2]

If this testimony were founded on fact, as it probably is, then "Paul de Saint Pierre" would be nothing more than a literal translation of the German Paul von Heiligenstein. If, however, we should be inclined to lay stress on the particle *de*, the title de Saint Pierre, von Heiligenstein, might be regarded as a reference to the Father's birthplace, the village Heiligenstein in the Bavarian Palatinate.

But whatever may be the circumstances in the case of the French name of our pioneer priest, the fact remains, beyond a doubt, that P. Paul de Saint Pierre was not a Frenchman, nor a Belgian, nor a Dutchman, but a German.

According to the testimony of Father Gibault, Paul de Saint Pierre was born in the year 1751 in Germany,[3] very probably, as we have already hinted and shall endeavor to prove, in the German Dukedom, Zweibrücken, called, by the French, "Deux-Ponts." It was in France, however, that he entered the Order of the Discalced Carmelites. Here he passed the most peaceful and happy years of his life in the contemplative quiet of the cloister. But the year 1780 brought the turning point, at which his wanderings began. In a Latin letter addressed to the missionary Louis Payet, at Detroit, de Saint Pierre writes under date, Cahokia, February 18, 1787, as follows:

[2] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, p. 531.
[3] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, p. 547.

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> I know not by what fate I have come hither. I was well off in France. By order of the Most Christian King I traveled to the Thirteen Colonies, where I acted in the capacity of camp chaplain of the French army. After the war the French Minister resident at Philadelphia insisted so much that I come hither, that I was not able to refuse what he asked.[4]

P. Paul de Saint Pierre frequently reverts in his letters to the circumstance that he had served as field chaplain (*Aumônier*) in the French auxiliary army of Rochambeau, and in this claim he is supported by the testimony af Father Gibault and P. Bernard de Limpach. It is true that in the list of the French army and navy chaplains of our Revolutionary war, as published in *Les Combattants de la Guerre Americaine*, 1778–1783, and reproduced in the *American Catholic Historical Researches* (January, 1904), the name de Saint Pierre is not found. But this list is acknowledged to be incomplete, as not a few otherwise well-authenticated and distinguished names of French army and navy chaplains are wanting in it.

We entertain a surmise in this regard, which we would be glad to see confirmed. Among the four regiments that landed in Rhode Island with Rochambeau, the third bore the title, *Régiment de Royal Deux-Ponts* (Zweibrücken). This regiment was raised by the Duke de Deux-Ponts in 1757. It was first called the Regiment Palatinat, belonging to the Prince Palatin Deux-Ponts (the German Dukedom of Pfalz-Zweibrücken), and was, no doubt, composed of the subjects of the duke and of his immediate neighbors. The officers almost exclusively bore distinctly German names, though Frenchified according to the custom of the day: Duke Christian de Deux Ponts, Count de Forbach, Viscount de Deux Ponts, Count de Spaur, Le Baron de Esebeck, De Haden, Le Baron de Schaumburg, de Truchsess, De Schwingsfeld, De Bibra, De Ichtersheim, De Geispitzheim, de Egloffstein, Ruhle de Lilienstein, De Mühlenfels, De Ludwig, De Furstenwerther, Le Baron de Johann, Le Baron de Kalb, Le Baron de Ratsamhausen etc. But where officers and men were German, there, no doubt, the field chaplain was German also. But who was he?[5]

It is stated in a note in the *American Catholic Historical Re-*

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[4] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. viii, p. 533.

[5] E. S. Balch, *The French in America, During the War of Independence of the United States*, 1777–1783. Philadelphia, 1895, Vol. ii, *passim*.

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searches,[6] that there were five chaplains with Rochambeau on his march through Connecticut; the names of four are listed and it is contended that the fifth was de Saint Pierre. But why is de Saint Pierre's name omitted in the list although his presence with the army is accepted as certain?

In the book, *Rochambeau, a Commemoration* (Washington, D. C., 1907), the statement is made that "the exact strength of the Regiment de Deux-Ponts, in numbers is not known, as the muster rolls of the companies are not given."[7] Now, as the muster rolls perished, the names of the soldiers and probably of their chaplain also were forgotten. Hence we may surmise that the long-neglected de Saint Pierre was the chaplain of the German Regiment de Deux Ponts, Zweibrücken, a conclusion that would find further confirmation in the circumstance that the village of Heiligenstein is in the immediate neighborhood of the town of Zweibrücken. These are but surmises, but above all surmise there is the authenticated fact that P. Paul de Saint Pierre, as one of the field chaplains, accompanied the various campaigns of Count de Rochambeau, was present at Yorktown, and received his honorable discharge from the army at the conclusion of peace in 1783. These patriotic activities, however, were not the only, nor the most important, services rendered by Father de Saint Pierre during the dark days of the Revolution. As a member of the officially recognized and universally respected band of Catholic chaplains of the French auxiliary forces, enjoying the freedom of the land and exempt from the vexatious anti-Catholic laws then still obtaining though not generally enforced, de Saint Pierre did his part in breaking the darksome spell that still rested on the youthful church of America. Seeing the dignified, fearless bearing of the French clergy, the native priests began to labor with fresh courage and confidence. In the meantime the evil eye of the populace became accustomed to look with less disfavor on the ceremonies of the Church and the priestly garb of its ministers, until at last Dr. Carroll, following a similar move of the Episcopalians, took courage to accept the episcopal dignity from the hand of Rome.[8]

[6] *American Catholic Historical Researches*, June, 1899.

[7] *Op. cit.*, p. 573.

[8] *Cf.* Msgr. Carroll's Letter to Cardinal Antonelli apud Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, p. 254.

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The war was over, and most of the chaplains, Capuchins, Carmelites, Franciscans and a few seculars returned to France with the troops. Of those, however, that remained in the country, P. de Saint Pierre was one of the most zealous and successful, though his name seems to have lain under a cloud of lifelong suspicion. His moral conduct, his purity of faith and earnestness of zeal, his honesty and singleness of purpose were never questioned; the suspicion had reference only to the regularity of his mission and the validity of his spiritual functions.

Father de Saint Pierre never entertained a doubt about this matter, holding, perhaps, that being sent here by the king of France with the consent of the spiritual authorities, he had a right to stay here by request of the king's representative and the presumed consent of his superior, provided he could obtain faculties from the local ecclesiastical powers. But here was the knotty point.

Father Gibault, the Vicar-General of the Bishop of Quebec or the missions of the Illinois Country, wrote from Vincennes, where he was then stationed, to his superior, Bishop Hubert, June 6, 1786:

> A barefooted German Carmelite, thirty-four years old, with his priest's orders, a certificate from the colonel of the regiment in which he served as chaplain until peace was made, and some letters from the grand vicar granting him the privilege of ministering on the banks of the Mississippi, without mention of any place in particular, whose name is Father de St. Pierre, came here a year ago in the name of M. Carroll, bishop-elect of America, from whom came his orders. I did not dare to say anything to him without your orders, and I did not write to you about it sooner, for he kept saying that he was going to return to France by way of New Orleans. However, he is still in Illinois. He seemed to me very zealous, but with a zeal quite unmanageable for these regions without justice.[9]

The ecclesiastical conditions of the territory northwest of the Ohio River were at the time in a state of utter confusion. The Bishop of Quebec, who had, ever since the discovery of the Mississippi, enjoyed the spiritual jurisdiction from the mouth of the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, was led to fear that he would render himself objectionable to the new republic, if he should continue to exercise his rights and privileges. Msgr. Carroll of Baltimore found that his own jurisdiction in these new acquisitions of the United States remained doubtful until the boundaries of his diocese should be definitely settled by Rome. No

[9] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, p. 547.

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doubt, Bishop Carroll held that, as the Mississippi River formed the western limit of the United States, so all the territory east of the great river should and did come under his jurisdiction. Therefore, he permitted, though not without serious misgivings, that P. de Saint Pierre should minister in his name to the utterly forsaken parishes of Kaskaskia . . . and Cahokia. Therefore, he accepted the proffered services of the Sulpician, Father Huet de la Valinière, and appointed him Vicar-General to the Western Missions. But, later on, new doubts arose in his mind; and he wrote to Msgr. Hubert, the Bishop of Quebec, May 5, 1788.

> Encouraged by the favorable recommendations with which M. de la Valinière was supplied by his ecclesiastical superiors in Canada, I very willingly accepted his offer to go to the Illinois and I have named him my Vicar-General there. Since he left, I have received letters written at Post Vincennes by another priest named Gibault, who tells me that for nineteen years he himself has been in that section Vicar-General of the Bishops of Quebec. It is about this, Monsigneur, that I should like to be instructed, and upon which I dare to ask Your Lordship to throw some light; especially since reports have reached me concerning M. Gibault's conduct that are very unfavorable to him.
>
> I learned, some time ago, that Your Lordship was dissatisfied with me because I meddled in the ecclesiastical government of the Illinois. I did so because I believed it was included in my jurisdiction, and I had no idea that Your Lordship extended his pastoral care to those regions. No motive of ambition actuated me; and if you propose to provide for the spiritual needs there, you will save me from great embarrassment and relieve my conscience of a burden which weighs very heavily upon it. In such an event, my only anxiety would be, that the United States would not allow the exercise of power, even of a spiritual nature, to a subject of Great Britain.[10]

Such were the sentiments of the highest spiritual authority in the United States in 1788. The Bishop of Quebec sent the following answer:

> Although I am not at liberty to assent to the dismemberment of this part of my diocese without the consent of my coadjutor and of my clergy, Divine Providence having permitted the Illinois, etc., to fall into the power of the United States, the spiritual charge of which is confided to your care, I urgently beseech you to continue for the present to provide for these missions, as it would be difficult for me to supply them myself without perhaps giving some offense to the British Government.[11]

With the acceptance of this request, Bishop Carroll's authority over the Illinois country east of the Mississippi was sufficiently established, at least for the time being. But P. de Saint Pierre had arrived three years before this date, first at Pottinger's Creek and in Louisville, then in Vincennes and presently in Kaskaskia and Cahokia, where he held the position of pastor at this very time. From Louisville he had written to Dr. Carroll asking for

[10] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, p. 581, *s*.

[11] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, p. 588.

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faculties. Dr. Carroll states in one of his letters to Father Gibault as late as January 20, 1790:

> I am also worried in regard to M. de Saint Pierre. He left here without any power to administer the sacraments, for at that time I possessed no right to grant it to him; and since his departure I have been unable to make up my mind to send him that power, because I am in no wise assured that he came to America with the consent of the superiors of the Order or with such approbation as the usages of ecclesiastical discipline require.[12]

Bishop Carroll's main difficulty sprang from an unfortunate misunderstanding. The Decree of the Propaganda appointing Dr. Carroll Superior of the Mission in the thirteen United States of America, dated November 26, 1784, contained the restrictive clause that he was to give faculties to no priest coming into the country, except those sent and approved by the Sacred Congregation. P. Paul de Saint Pierre did not have this approbation, having come here long before that restriction was made; but for the same reason he did not require that approbation, as the letter of Cardinal Antonelli, which accompanied the decree, informs Dr. Carroll that "the faculties which His Holiness communicates to him, the Superior of the Mission, are also communicated to the other priests of the same states, except the administration of Confirmation, which is reserved for him alone." [13]

Msgr. Carroll, in the course of time, also inclined to this view and entertained a more favorable opinion of de Saint Pierre's ecclesiastical status. At least he permitted him to continue his ministry under whatever authority he may have claimed to act, a course that was certainly the most sensible and just one, in view of the immense distance of these missions from the See of Baltimore and the absolute dearth of missionaries in the west. De Saint Pierre's readiness to accept responsibility when matters were so urgent, deserved recognition. The recommendation given to de Saint Pierre by the French minister was a good sign, and, if the worst should come to the worst, no one could blame the authorities at Baltimore if they tolerated something which they could in no wise prevent.

P. de Saint Pierre, as if awaiting the decision of Dr. Carroll, crossed the river from the American to the Spanish side, where Baltimore could claim no jurisdiction, and was there entrusted

[12] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, p. 592.

[13] Shea, *Life and Times of Archbishop Carroll*, pp. 243, 244, 246.

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with the spiritual care of the ancient parish of Ste. Genevieve, May 18, 1785. Here he continued till July 10, 1786, as the records of Ste. Genevieve bear witness. But as Kaskaskia became orphaned by the departure of Father Louis Payet, in May of this same year, de Saint Pierre came to the assistance of this parish also, no doubt with the approval and consent of Father Gibault, the representative of the Bishop of Quebec.

Whilst attending Kaskaskia, de Saint Pierre received from Baltimore a notification in regard to the Jubilee conceded by the Sovereign Pontiff to the United States—a recognition of de Saint Pierre's good standing in the Diocese.

It was no pleasant place to live in, the Kaskaskia of 1786. Law and order seem to have vanished from the land. The French authorities were superseded by the Virginians, and they in turn had departed, leaving the poor Creoles to the mercy of marauding Indians and the tyranny of upstart politicians, whose sole endeavor it was to deprive a trustful people of their wealth and honor. Among these was the firm of Edgar and Tournier. For twenty-five years John Edgar held the office of Justice of Common Pleas. "During this time," says Alvord, "he purchased many of the land claims of the French and in the course of years became the richest landowner of the American Bottom."[14]

When de Saint Pierre arrived, the firm was in the first flush of its iniquitous successes. Father de Saint Pierre at once accused them of stealing. Edgar and Tournier sought redress in the court of the magistrate Nicholas Lachance. Father de Saint Pierre refused to obey the summons of Magistrate Lachance, writing his answer on the back of the order:

> I have the honor to declare to you by the present, that you are incompetent to judge ecclesiastical persons, and at the same time I protest a thousand times against your orders, employed very badly. I have already declared, and I will also prove before competent authority, the question against me. As to the rest, I certify once more to have said that the Company of Edgar & Tournier have stolen. Let Mr. Williams make his oath and depart.[15]

The magistrate, Nicholas Caillot Lachance, was a creature of the notorious John Dodge, who had for so long a time bled and trampled under foot the helpless French Creoles of the American Bottom. The mandate of such an usurping officer and faithless

[14] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. ii, Introduction, p. 133.
[15] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, p. 526.

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enemy of his own people Father de Saint Pierre would not and could not respect, especially as the fact of stealing was well known, and the magistrate by John Dodge's favor had to give in:

> ". . . It is not in my power," he wrote, "to do more. I advise them to address themselves to the Honorable Congress as also to the bishop, to produce their complaint, that justice may take place where it is due, it not belonging to me, nor am I competent to go further without the express orders of the Honorable Congress . . . [16]

It is plain that the days of John Dodge's rule of might were drawing to a close. With Governor St. Clair the rule of right was soon to return. But it is to the credit of P. de Saint Pierre that he, as the first man of influence, rose in opposition to this lawlessness in the guise of law. The aggrieved John Edgar and Louis Tournier now brought their complaint before the authorities at Baltimore, saying: "We are doubtful whether you have sent us a priest to look after our spiritual interests, as he is more concerned with temporal affairs and acts as a lawyer in this country. He endeavors to ruin us in our commerce, and to take away our credit . . . I do not think, my Lord, after the letters that I have seen, that a pastor ought to meddle with temporal matters."[17] This seems to have been the end of the case of Edgar and Tournier against Paul de Saint Pierre, whom the complainants called Heiligenstein.

Father de Saint Pierre remained pastor of Ste. Genevieve and administrator of the neighboring parish of Kaskaskia until the arrival of the new pastor, Father Guignes, in 1786. Father Gibault, who had been repeatedly asked by the good people of Cahokia to take charge of this forsaken and almost ruined parish and Indian Mission, requested Father de Saint Pierre to undertake the laborious task, sending him at the same time the power of attorney he himself had received from the Superior of the Seminary of Quebec by authority of the Bishop concerning the mission of Cahokia. The last letter of Father de Saint Pierre from Kaskaskia, a Latin Letter to Father Louis Payet at Detroit, is dated, Parochia Immaculatae Conceptionis, die 18 Februarii, A. D., 1786. From this date on to 1789 de Saint Pierre was pastor of the Parish of the Holy Family and the Tamarois Mission at Cahokia, just across the river from the rising city of St. Louis.

[16] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, p. 530.
[17] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i. p. 521.

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It is a remarkable coincidence that in these critical years two German priests, P. Bernard de Limpach and P. Paul de Saint Pierre, the one at St. Louis, the other at Cahokia, separated by the great river but united by the bond of a magnanimous friendship, should unfold their blessed missionary activities in spite of all attacks and misunderstandings. Before de Saint Pierre's coming P. Bernard had, at Father Gibault's invitation, attended to the spiritual needs of the church at Cahokia, and Father de Saint Pierre was ready to return the favor in St. Louis if Father Bernard should be called away. On April 25, 1787, P. Bernard of St. Louis writes to his superior in New Orleans:

> The parish of St. Louis is no more than half a league from that of Kahos (Cahokia), which at present has a priest, who was chaplain to the army of the King of France, and therefore it can easier remain for a time without a priest than other parishes farther down in the colony, as, for instance, that of St. Charles, whose subjects, no doubt, are not less dear to God and to the king than those of Illinois.[18]

In those primitive days of pathless forest and boundless prairie the great river appeared more as an avenue of approach than a dividing line, a circumstance that may explain, to a certain extent, the strange wanderings to and fro of our early priests, especially as the population on both sides was really one people of Catholic French.

On the 6th day of June, 1786, Father Gibault sent a message to Quebec concerning the zealous, or rather over-zealous, Carmelite, "with the privilege of ministering on the banks of the Mississippi." On the 17th day of October of the same year, Dr. Carroll's Vicar-General, de La Valinière, writes concerning a meeting he had held with P. Bernard de Limpach and another priest in St. Louis, in which several charges against P. de Saint Pierre had been discussed and proved to be without foundation, and he ordains that the good people of Cahokia give him, as their lawful pastor, all the satisfaction in their power. The letter was

[18] The parish church of St. Charles on the German coast, Cote des Allemands, founded by the German settlers who had been brought over by the notorious financier of France, John Law, for his American dukedom in Arkansas, but who, after the failure of Law's "South Sea Bubble," were transferred to a tract of land along the Mississippi River, about thirty miles long, a few miles above New Orleans. Almost all of these settlers of the German coast were Catholics; the church of St. John the Baptist was their second church, founded in 1772, and its first parish priest was P. Bernard de Limpach, the writer of the letter quoted above.—*American Catholic Historical Researches*, January, 1898.

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ordered to be read on Sunday, after the sermon of the parochial Mass, and afterwards affixed to the door of the church.[19] But ere six months had elapsed, a remarkable change had come over de La Valinière's position in regard to the one time "lawful pastor," now only "acting in the capacity of Parson of Cahokia." The change is explained in the document entitled "Letter from M. Huet de La Valinière, Vicar-General in all the districts north of the Ohio, called Belle Rivière, along the Mississippi, Wabash, Miami, etc., to the gentlemen of Cahokia, greeting and blessing in our Lord."

It is not very pleasant reading, this letter of the Vicar-General; and whatever may have been the merits of the case, it should not have been laid before the people for adjudication. To rehearse these charges against one of his priests before a gathering of laymen was sufficiently imprudent; but here to add to each charge the matter-of-fact answers of the accused priest, and to season the whole proceeding with diverse slurs and insinuations was certainly not calculated to win the parishioners to the side of authority.

In this document de La Valinière cites the very letter he had written to de Saint Pierre:

> Father, there are some that say that you have administered the sacraments of marriage in a prohibited season, namely, during Lent. We do not know whether this be true or false. However, as it is some time since you had power to dispense, you have committed two faults: the one in marrying a Catholic with a Protestant woman, the other in marrying them during Lent, on the day of St. Joseph, without mentioning any other dispensation but that of two publications. Moreover, you have given at Ste. Genevieve a dispensation which is void for want of dispensing power.[20]

Now as to the point that de Saint Pierre had at Ste. Genevieve given a dispensation "*ab impedimento consanguinitatis*," which was invalid for want of authority, as de Valinière says, it must be remembered that Ste. Genevieve, being in Spanish Louisiana, was never within the jurisdiction of de La Valinière, but since 1777 in the diocese of Santiago de Cuba, and since 1787 in the newly organized diocese of Havana; consequently that the dispensation may have been granted by the proper authority, though not that of the complainant, and, to say the least, did in nowise concern de La Valinière, but the Spanish ecclesiastical authorities alone.

[19] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, pp. 548 and 549.

[20] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, p. 551.

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As to the two faults committed in the territory under de La Valinière's jurisdiction, by authority of Baltimore and Quebec, Father de Saint Pierre gives a very comprehensive though not altogether satisfactory answer, in the letter to the representative of the French Creoles at the American Congress, Barthelemi Tardiveau, dated Cahokia, September 17, 1787:

> I have married Mr. Reihl, a Catholic, with Miss Camp, on St. Joseph's Day. He, de La Valinière, finds fault with it, because the latter was a Protestant. But, as I am from a country where Catholics and Protestants live together, as likewise in some provinces of France where I lived, I think I have more knowledge of such marriages. By a Pragmatic Sanction, the German Catholic priests are obliged to marry persons of different religions without making any difficulty. Lewis the XVI has ordained it so in the Diocese of Marseilles and others in the year 1780. Concerning the American States, you know full well, that it raises no difficulty there; on the contrary, the Apostolic Prefect himself has married his niece to a Protestant. He, de La Valinière, made a great bustle because I married them on St. Joseph's Day without making mention in the register of a dispensation from the impediment of prohibited time, namely, the Lenten season. But be pleased to observe the custom of this country and of several others of marrying on that day. Where custom supplies the place of law, there is no need of a dispensation nor of mentioning it in the register. Howbeit, after his arrival, I have continued the functions of parson at Ste. Genevieve, a Spanish parish, until the house which was destined for me here should be repaired. Here I have given a dispensation *ab impedimento consanguinitatis*, to Mr. Pierre Aubuchon and his cousin, Miss Daumur. He pretends that his coming had taken from me the power of dispensing. That, however, cannot extend to the other shore, where he has never had the least power. The marriage, which I have solemnized, was also on St. Joseph's Day, but it was of a girl whose dying father expired the next day, and who had begged of me that he might have the consolation of seeing his daughter married before his death. Even if that gentleman (de La Valinière) had been acknowledged as Grand Vicar, I could not possibly have had recourse to him.[21]

As the Catholics of Cahokia could not be turned against their pastor, de La Valinière proceeded to the ignoble measure of renewing the calumny that de Saint Pierre had never received priestly orders, a charge for which he had once before received an earnest rebuke from P. Bernard of St. Louis, and which he had been obliged to retract. De La Valinière at this time resided at Kaskaskia, and de Saint Pierre at Cahokia, the two places being about thirty miles apart.

Against all these attacks of de La Valinière the parishioners of Cahokia made a quiet, earnest reply:

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[21] Alvord's translation of this letter has a curious mistake in giving the original "les prêtres catholiques *allemands* with the 'Dutch' Catholic priests." True, it is not Alvord's own mistake, yet a note of explanation should have been added. The Miss Camp of the Marriage case was the daughter of the first Protestant minister that ventured beyond the Mississippi from the States. The name of the groom is usually given as Reilhe. Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, pp. 570–572.

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> We have seen and read with a clear and audible voice, in the assembly of the inhabitants of Caho (Cahokia), convened this day, Sunday after the High Mass of this parish, your letter bearing the date of 11th of April, the present month, which is addressed to us and was handed to us by Mr. La Buxiere. We answer the same by declaring to you, all of us with an unanimous voice, that M. de St. Pierre, our Parson, Pastor and Missionary, has all our confidence, and that we have only to praise and applaud him and the spiritual zeal with which he instructs us, as well as our children. It is in vain that you expect to rob us of the confidence we repose in him; his attachment to us and his disinterestedness are known to us. Therefore, sir, dispense with writing us anything more disadvantageous to the conduct of a priest as worthy of respect as M. de St. Pierre, whom we all reverence. As to the marriage which he has solemnised in our parish on St. Joseph's Day, he had lawful reasons to do so. His conduct in the cases which you impute to him in the letter you write to us is irreproachable, and you give us to understand that the hatred which you have conceived against the dignity of our parson is the only motive that actuates you. We are very much affronted at the shocking and insulting expressions you make use of, in your letter, when you say that he has need of our instructions and those of our wives to conduct himself. Such a discourse savours of irony and defamatory libel, and together with the trouble and disunion you have spread in the villages of this shore, since you are here, are sufficient to determine us to declare to you, that we will never receive or consider you as Grand Vicar of the Illinois. . . .[22]

The document is signed by all the heads of families of Cahokia. It furnishes another indication of the uncertainty of ecclesiastical authority in the Illinois country, and no less, to the old Creole dislike for everything American, in Church as well as in State. This circumstance was, no doubt, used as a point of vantage by P. de St. Pierre over the representative of the Bishop of Baltimore, whose most fearful threat against the wayward and disobedient seems to have been an appeal to Congress. Still, the pastor of Cahokia sought to clear his people of the suspicion of rebellious sentiments against Bishop Carroll, whom he calls their lawful superior.

The first great and partly successful undertaking of P. de Saint Pierre at Cahokia was the recovery of the property once held by the Seminary of Quebec for the Tamarois Mission, and for the Parish of the Holy Family, but sold or disposed of by the last Vicar-General under the French regime, Father Forget du Verger. The sales were null and void, as Father Forget had not been authorized by the rightful owners; in fact, Father Forget's conduct in leaving the Illinois country as he did was condemned, by Bishop Briand of Quebec, as "shameful, even criminal."[23]

All that remained to the ancient parish were "four walls of

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[22] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, pp. 561 *ss*. The church Records of Prairie de Rocher are frequently disfigured by the interpolation of the designation "schismatique" after De Saint Pierre's signature.

[23] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. xi, p. 559.

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a stone house, with ground three hundred feet wide by nine hundred feet long, and also a field three arpents wide with a length the same as the fields belonging to the inhabitants," and even these few remnants of the former mission and seigniory of Cahokia, once containing four leagues square, were in danger of being lost to the parish.[24]

Here Father de Saint Pierre's aggressiveness served him and his people to a good purpose. The story of the proceedings for the recovery of the mission property and the material upbuilding of the parish of the Holy Family is vividly described in a report of the deputies of the people and the trustees of the Parish and Mission of Cahokia to the Gentlemen af the Seminary of Quebec.

> The inhabitants composing the parish of the Holy Family of Cahokia believe that they ought not to leave you in ignorance of the action which M. Jutard, whose residence for some years past has been Montreal, has taken on May 19, 1785, to dispose of the property of this mission. He gave his power of attorney to M. Augustine Dubuque, traveling merchant of Montreal, to have him sell what still remained of the property of this said mission. . . . We made no opposition, since we had no knowledge at the time of the power of attorney, which the superiors of the Chapter, by the authority of the Bishop, had sent to Father Gibault . . . But Father Gibault has made no use of it. This has been communicated to us about the month of April, 1786, by M. de Saint Pierre, the priest serving our mission, after the sale of the property by auction had been made by the sheriff, for M. de Saint Pierre began serving our parish only afterwards, and M. Gibault transmitted to him those powers concerning the mission of Cahokia. We have learned from this power of attorney that all the sales made by Father Forget, Grand Vicar of Monseigneur were null and void, since they had never been authorized by the Chapter, and that you intended, Gentlemen, that all the property of the Mission be under the power of the missionary whom it pleased you to send, and of the inhabitants who compose the said parish, to be maintained and held in perpetuity for the said Mission and Parish . . . Consequently, we have judicially set aside and annulled all the sales made by Father Forget and others who have succeeded him and have annulled the instruments which the attorney of M. Jutard has had made and which concerned the sale by auction . . . We have reëstablished you in the possession of these goods. For the purpose of lodging our pastor we have built a priest's house, which has cost us almost five thousand livres. (We were obliged to do this) because the house had been entirely ruined by the English and American troops who have lodged there.

[24] Four leagues square; the league at three miles, would comprise 144 square miles. This was the extent of the seigniory granted January 22, 1722, by the first Lieutenant of the King of France, Pierre Duguet de Boisbriant to the Seminary of Quebec for the use of the Tamarois Mission. The estate extended from the mouth of the Cahokia River to Fort Chartres, and was given in fee simple. The grant was acknowledged by the American Government. The Commission appointed by Congress for the examination of land titles approved the grant on June 22, 1822. Then came the great wave of immigration; and most of the land claimed by the Seminary was taken up by settlers. In 1882 the Seminary of Quebec made another attempt to recover its own, not for itself, but for the church in southern Illinois. But that is a long story, worthy of treatment in a separate paper. An interesting contribution on this subject may be found in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. i, No. 4, pp. 408-412.

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> The defacements and injuries it had suffered during the time it was abandoned were such that there remain standing only the four walls, which could be repaired only with much labor, for they are without a roof-covering, ceiling, flooring, and the chimneys have tumbled down; there are some fences on the land; the orchard has been so devastated that there is left no vestige of it; all the other buildings have been destroyed even to the wells, which have been filled in.
>
> We have decided to build a church of the ruins of this house, for our former wooden church has fallen, and we are obliged to say Mass in a rented house. We have commenced to work on our projected church, which will cost us more than fifteen or sixteen thousand livres. Since the Mission no longer has any slaves or animals of any kind, M. Forget having pocketed and carried away the money which he was able to collect for them, and since the three arpents of land will become a charge against the Mission on account of the expense for fences and maintenance, we consulted with M. de Saint Pierre and decided to rent it; . . . As to the other property, such as slaves, mills and animals, all these have been entirely dispersed and made unusable at the departure of M. Forget, either by sales, the granting of liberty to the slaves, or by donation of the animals, so that none of these things are to be found at the Mission. There are still some families of negroes on the Spanish side, who are of considerable value. They are living either at St. Louis of the Illinois or at New Orleans, and were either given their liberty or were sold by M. Forget without authority. There are some even here in the village of Cahokia. We have made a demand for those living on the Spanish side; but the major commandant of the Illinois district has refused to do anything . . . Before we saw the contents of the power of attorney addressed to M. Gibault, we were uncertain whether the sales by M. Forget were legal or not, and were fearful of taking false steps and of putting ourselves to useless expenses. This power of attorney, which has been sent us, has reassured us and opened our eyes; and we shall work now for the re-establishment of our Mission, as far as it shall be in our power.[25]

Concluding their letter, the people of Cahokia prefer a petition to the ordinary of Quebec:

> We cannot too much praise M. de Saint Pierre, our priest and present missionary. He has all capacity, zeal, and charity both for the teaching and instruction of the faithful and for his ecclesiastical duty. We desire to be able to keep him and pray you to be kind enough to agree to it and to influence Monseigneur to agree, so that he is willing to send to him the commands for our mission.

This church of de Saint Pierre, built in part of the materials of the ruined house, is still standing at Cahokia, as a most venerable, though lowly monument of the early days of Faith in the Mississippi Valley.

It will be remembered that, whilst Kaskaskia, with all its surrounding stations, was entrusted to the Jesuit Fathers, the Tamarois Mission and the Parish of the Holy Family at Cahokia were placed in charge of the Fathers of the Foreign Missions of the Seminary of Quebec. At the dissolution of the Society of Jesus, the representative of the Seminary, Father Forget Du Verger, seems to have been possessed with the idea that the prospects of religion were at an end in these parts, and so he

[25] Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, p. 560 *ss.*

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quickly sold or scattered what he could of the property of the Mission and returned to France with the exiled band of Jesuits.

The petition of the inhabitants to the Bishop of Quebec had reference to the appointment of a missionary for the Tamarois Indians, who would at the same time act as pastor of the parish. The Bishop's response is not known, yet the request did not seem to be out of harmony with the views of Bishop Hubert, who, October, 1788, declares that the Seminary had "resigned its prerogative of nominating a superior among the Tamarois only in favor of the Bishop of Quebec," a right which seems to have been exercised for the last time when the saintly Father Savigne (Savine) came to Cahokia in 1812.[26]

Father de Saint Pierre remained at Cahokia until September, 1789, as pastor and missionary, and the parish began to revive and flourish under his fostering care.

Good order and decency in all things pertaining to the religious life were always the object of his vigilant care, and he did not hesitate to employ force, even to the extent of calling on the civil power, whenever it seemed necessary. In the minutes of the Court of Cahokia we find a number of instances.

On December 10, 1786, M. de Saint Pierre, the parish priest, presented the petition, requesting the prohibition of giving strong drink to the savages. The Court decreed that "the ordinance passed here to fore shall be published next Sunday and that offenders shall be punished according to said ordinance."

In March of the following year the pastor, de Saint Pierre, required an oath from every member of the Board of Trustees assembled in the presence of the court, that none of them had taken and hidden certain valuable papers entrusted to them by M. Du Buque. All took the oath and were declared free from all suspicion in this regard.

In all the French settlements of the Mississippi Valley, the

[26] It will be remembered that the various tribes of the Illinois Indians, among them the Tamarois, were almost totally exterminated, in consequence of the murder of the great chief Pontiac, in Cahokia, 1769. The sad remnants were fast passing away during the period of de Saint Pierre's incumbency of Cahokia. In Father Savine's day scarcely a soul was left. Father Savine, the last of the Missionaries, sent to the Illinois from Canada, was acting parish priest of St. Louis, at the time Bishop Du Bourg held his solemn entrance in his Pro-cathedral, Jan. 6, 1818. Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. i, p. 588.

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so-called *coutumes de Paris* (the customs of Paris) were regarded as the common law of the land, even in what was afterward called Spanish Louisiana. According to these customs the parish priest had a right to the tithes, originally one-tenth part of the harvest, but now, according to Canadian modification, only one twenty-sixth part, or about 4, instead of 10 per cent of the wheat and corn. Besides this, every family in its turn was required to furnish the *pain bénit*,"[27] the blessed bread, of which every one attending the solemn service received a small piece.

This custom of the *pain bénit* was probably introduced by St. Gregory of Tours and prevailed in Canada and several dioceses of France as late as thirty years ago, but seems now to be passing *in desuetudinem* everywhere.

On January 2, 1789, de Saint Pierre entered suit against some inhabitants of Cahokia on account of their refusal to furnish the *pain bénit*. They in turn claimed there was no obligation. The court, however, was impressed by the pastor's arguments, and declared that the obligation held, and ordered these refractory inhabitants to give the blessed bread, each in his turn, on the days of obligation; in default whereof they were to pay ten livres to the church to make up the deficiency.[28]

P. de Saint Pierre was indeed, a valiant defender of the rights of the Church, and as such we shall see him again in his new field of labor beyond the great river, in Ste. Genevieve. Cahokia had, indeed, grown dear to his heart; but he felt, at the same time, that there were other places that offered a far better field for his priestly labors, The Spanish side, with its great possibilities under Catholic rule, seemed to say: Come. And then, there was another reason that weighed heavy in the balance, the spirit of restlessness that had taken possession of his own people.

Although Father Gibault did certainly take a prominent part in effecting the bloodless conquest of the Illinois country by the Americans under Clark, and although the Creole inhabitants considered a ready submission to the new regime not only a matter of necessity, but also of advantage, they did not have

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[27] See Illinois Historical Collections, Vol. ii, *passim*.

[28] *Cf.* the interesting article on "Bread, its liturgical use," in *The Catholic Encyclopedia*. Also the article on *Blessed Bread in Detroit* in *American Catholic Historical Researches*, Vol. xii, p. 176.

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a very deep love for the new-comers: nor could it be justly expected of them. Sudden changes in the administration of a country are always bound to bring certain hardships. So it was in the frontier-towns of the American Bottom. The Virginia troops had withdrawn; no authority had been established; disorder and lawlessness was in full sway, Cahokia alone making an exception to this by establishing a court of justice. The Creoles were offended by the overbearing ways and rude manners of many of the adventurers from the East, and in their native candour and honesty found themselves exposed on all sides to fraud, injustice and even violence. In consequence many of the most important Creole families left their old homes for Ste. Genevieve or St. Louis. The government beyond the river was indeed, Spanish; but the people, the laws and customs, and even the officers were French. Besides, the Spanish government was making strong efforts to draw the remnants of the Catholic population to the western shore. Land grants were offered to all new-comers. For this purpose of attracting the people other enticing offers were made to the missionaries of the east side, and they found a ready acceptance.

On May 1, 1787, Father de Saint Pierre had addressed the following petition to Bishop Cirillo, asking for the appointment to some parish on the Spanish side. The original is in French and is preserved in the Catholic Archives of America, Notre Dame, Indiana:

My Lord:

Three years ago, Mr. Cruzat asked you to give me the parish of St. Genevieve, but as he told me, his letters reached you too late, and Rev. Father Louis (Guignes) had obtained the parish.

Knowing that this same parish is vacant since Fall, I ask you humbly for the favor. Already some of my parishioners, for good reasons, have established themselves on your side of the river, and I hope that the others will soon follow them; therefore I beg you to allow me to follow them also.

A new establishment (New Madrid) has been begun a little below the entrance of the Beautiful River. They will need a priest who knows English and German. I offer myself also for this place. You may dispose of me according to your pleasure and good will.

I take the liberty to send you a copy of my papers, legalized by the Commandant of St. Genevieve, to convince you of the falsehoods that have been spread about me, and of which Mr. Cruzat has already informed you.

Finally, I will try to act in such a manner that you will never regret to have granted me the favor which I humbly beg of you.

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During my whole life I shall be with profoundest respect, Monsignor, your humble and obedient servant,

PAUL DE ST. PIERRE,
Discalced Carmelite of Germany, Missionary.

Kaokias, May 1, 1787.

This request was now granted by Bishop Cirillo, and Father de Saint Pierre entered upon his duties of pastor of St. Genevieve in 1789. Father Le Dru of Kaskaskia had preceded him in becoming Pastor of St. Louis as successor to P. Bernard de Limpach, and Father Gibault followed soon after, accepting a call to New Madrid in 1792, where he built the first church and dedicated it to St. Isidore.

Ste. Genevieve remained the home of Father de Saint Pierre until February 27, 1797, a period of about seven years.

As a further cause of this change of allegiance the circumstance is given that the Creoles of the American Bottom no longer showed a willingness to render the usual tithes for the support of the Church. Under American rule there was, of course, no law to enforce the payment of the tithes.

On the Spanish side the legal obligation was, indeed, cancelled by decree of April 22, 1787, but the practice was still in force among the people and tolerated by the authorities. This source of income was an important matter to a parish priest, though the proceeds varied according to time and place. Father Gibault in 1769 received from the people of Ste. Genevieve about 300 bushels of wheat and 500 to 600 bushels of corn; P. Bernard, however, reports that the tithes received at St. Louis never amounted to more than $80.00 a year. Yet, important as the tithes were, there was a still more important source of income, granted by the Spanish and denied by the American authorities —a regular salary of $600.00. With this assured income and the usual prequisites, a parish priest under the Spanish regime need not trouble himself about his temporal support.

It was in the month of September, 1789, that Father de Saint Pierre returned to Ste. Genevieve. On the 13th day of September he performed his first official function, the baptism of a child, and he remained as pastor until 1797.

Ste. Genevieve is regarded as the earliest settlement of whites in the present state of Missouri. The "Old Village" was an offshoot of Kaskaskia, and was planted three miles south of the

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present city, hard by the river, in what is called the "Grand Champ." The date of its foundation was about 1730. Very early a church was erected there, dedicated to St. Joachim, which was at first attended by visiting Jesuits from Kaskaskia and in 1759 raised to the dignity of a separate parish with a resident priest.

The Jesuit Fathers, Wattrin, J. B. Salveneuve and John Morinie, all of Ste. Genevieve, were the first resident priests in Missouri. After the suppression of the Jesuit Order the saintly Father Sebastian Louis Meurin obtained permission to return to the Illinois country and made his home, though not continuously, in Ste. Genevieve, 1764–1768. Then came Father Gibault, 1768–1773. His successor was the Capuchin Father Hilarius, (the first Monsignor of the West), 1773–1777. On September 27, 1778, the parishioners, in a meeting held under the auspices of the commandant, de Cartabona, and the acting parish priest, P. Bernard de Limpach of St. Louis, decided to remove the church from the river bank to a more secure location on the land of Charles Valle.

Now Father Gibault took charge once more and remained to 1784. In the year 1782, the inhabitants of the Old Village, fearing the encroachments of the river, began *peu à peu*, as Father Dahmen says, to remove their homes three miles northward to the more elevated ground of the present site of Ste. Genevieve. In the year of the "great waters," May 17, 1785, Father de Saint Pierre arrived from Vincennes and remained until his house in Cahokia should be completed (May 18, 1785–July 10, 1786).

Who Father Louis Guignes, his successor, was, we cannot say. Under his administration (1786–1789) the dwelling of a certain M. Roussin in New Ste. Genevieve was bought and fitted up as the "presbytère."

In September, 1789, P. Paul de Saint Pierre arrived here from Cahokia and established his home with a few slaves, who kept house and managed the farm for him. In 1790 the negro woman Fanchonette, whom he had obtained out of the estate of Pierre Langlois at Kaskaskia, was sold by him to Tropez Richard for $275.00; and on his departure from Ste. Genevieve in 1797 two other slaves were sold by him. All this may seem strange to us, yet slavery was then a universal institution in these regions.

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Ever since the great flood in 1785, Old Ste. Genevieve, with its church of St. Joachim, declined; its very site rapidly disappearing in the river. For a time, divine service was held in a temporary structure in the new settlement, whilst preparations were under way for the removal or reconstruction of the church.

In 1793, September 7, the Lieutenant Governor, Zenon Trudeau, came to Ste. Genevieve at the request of Father de Saint Pierre and assembled the inhabitants for the purpose of submitting the project of erecting a new church in the place "where they had sought refuge from the flood." The plan was heartily approved by the inhabitants of the new village, Petite Cote, as it was called; but the people of the neighboring village of New Bourbon also asked for the erection of a chapel. The parish meeting decided that both villages, although only three miles apart, should have churches of their own. Messrs. Lachance, Pratte and Bolduc were appointed syndics to apportion the burdens of the building costs according to the financial abilities of the inhabitants, and the same gentlemen were approved as supervisors of the building operations.

It was ordered that the material of the old building should be used, as far as possible, for the new church in Ste. Genevieve.

On August 31, 1794, Zenon Trudeau made definite choice of the spot for placing the church in the new village and gave orders that it be built, pledging the government's share of the costs.[29]

The new church of Ste. Genevieve was a wooden structure, similar to the old church at Cahokia, and remained standing, though for a time disused, until 1831, when it was torn down to make room for other purposes.

From the Memoranda of Benedict Roux, we gather that P. Paul de Saint Pierre on two occasions attended to the spiritual needs of desolate Kaskaskia (May, 1785–June, 1786; and February, 1792–December, 1796). Ste Genevieve, however, remained his home and regular charge.[30]

A number of very interesting reminiscences of the days of Father de Saint Pierre are given in Henry Brackenridge's *Recollections of the West.* Brackenridge had, as a boy, been sent

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[29] Ste. Genevieve Archives. From a letter of P. de Saint Pierre, we learn that the proposed chapel in New Bourbon had not been started in 1796.

[30] Ste. Genevieve Archives, at Jefferson Memorial, St. Louis.

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to Ste. Genevieve for his education at the parish school and had found a new, most pleasant home with the family of Vital Beauvais. It is a graphic account that the grateful author gives of the peaceful, joyous and sincerely religious family life in the days before the coming of the Americans. Madame Beauvais, especially, is a most admirable Catholic woman. She loved the little Brackenridge as if he had been her own; but she could not bear the thought, that he, an unbaptized child, should share the bed with her own children. She therefore had him baptized by Father de Saint Pierre to make her happiness complete.

The little English boy, *le petit anglais*, as they called him, was now admitted to the dignity of an altar-boy, and as such he received a larger portion of the *pain bénit*, the blessed bread, which however, he did not eat, but brought as a choice morsel to his favorite, the baby of the family. Many years afterwards, on a chance visit to Ste. Genevieve, he came just in time to witness the marriage of this early friend of his childhood. Brackenridge also speaks of the many religious festivals and processions, of the Sunday High Mass and Vespers, by which the spiritual life of the people was constantly renewed, and he dwells with deep feeling on the innocent pleasures and simple pastimes of the dreamy village, in the good old days of Father de Saint Pierre.

The curé enjoyed the love and respect of all. Of course, there were exceptions. Even in peaceful Ste. Genevieve there were crooked ways that had to be made straight, and proud wills that had to be broken. The Ste. Genevieve Archives, now in charge of the Missouri Historical Society, preserve a letter of de Saint Pierre, parish priest, to Don Francisco Valle, the Commandant of the district, dated August 8, 1796:

> SIR:
>
> I can no longer hide the sorrow which the conduct of Le Coyteux caused me on the fourth of this month. I met him before the house of Mr. Bolduc. I prayed him to come and see me the following day after Mass. I missed him. Then I sent him a note saying, as a priest, I begged him not to take advantage of my affection and to come to see me, as I wished to speak to him. Here is the answer he made. I waited for him patiently from the fifth until today (the 8th). Owing to his refusal, I call upon you for a judgment and punishment. The person whom the said Louis Coyteux has in his house, pretends throughout the parish that she is his wife and he calls her so. I implore your aid in order that you may, by force, make her leave his house; and in order to put an end to the scandal, forbid her taking up her residence too near that of the said Coyteux. In case he should show resistance, it will be necessary to enforce the law made by our Monarch, December 24th, 1787, which may be found, no doubt, in your record office, or in the archives of St. Louis; for it was made public not long ago.

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The decision of the Commandant was given on the 31st. of August, 1796:

> Don François Valle, Captain of Militia and Civil and Military Commandant of the Post of Ste. Genevieve of the Illinois and its dependencies.
>
> Upon the oft repeated petitions made to us by the Sieur de St. Pierre, curé of this parish, asking that a stop be put to the public scandal resulting from the cohabitation of Mr. Louis Coyteux, resident of this post, with an English woman, whom he has had at his home, for a long time, which is contrary to good morals, also to the ordinances of his Majesty,
>
> We, the aforesaid Commandant, do order Mr. Louis Coyteux to eject from his house the said English woman, and that within twenty-four hours after being notified of the order, under penalty of being prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.
>
> Executed at Ste. Genevieve. August 31, 1796, before noon.
>
> (Signed) Fcois Valle.[20]

The vexed question as to the tithes also came up once more in the same year, 1796. How it was settled we cannot say. Here is the letter of P. de Saint Pierre to one of his confreres, probably Father Bernard of St. Louis:

> There is a difficulty between the Sacristan of this parish and a married soldier who keeps his home separately in his own house. The Sacristan asks 39 litres of wheat for the beadle according to the custom of the parish and again as much for himself annually. The soldier refuses to pay. I believe the soldier is obliged to pay since he has his house and family outside military quarters. The beadle told me that the commanding officer holds a different opinion.
>
> I wish to be well informed before I speak to him and I ask you to tell me what is customary in your parish, and if you can, inquire from the Lieutenant Governor himself. If the officers of the regiment who reside in their own houses in the capital are obliged to support public works, I am sure that the soldiers in Illinois or any other garrison should be equally obliged.
>
> Your most obedient servant,
>
> Paul de Saint Pierre.[21]

As Father de Saint Pierre, by his long and faithful service, had firmly established himself in the affection of his people, it was a great shock to them to hear that their good pastor had been recalled. Gone from Ste. Genevieve he certainly was, since December, 1795, and no one knew whither he had gone. All the old rumors, so long asleep, woke up suddenly and set about their ugly business. The ancient story of the conflict with Bishop Carroll and his long-departed Vicar-General, De La Valinière, had taken on a new lease of life. The truth was that Father de Saint Pierre had quietly undertaken a journey to Baltimore in order to settle this very matter for good, as we learn from a letter found in the Archives of the Missouri Historical Society. In accordance with this fact, we find that the name of de Saint Pierre

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[20] Ste. Genevieve Archives, at Jefferson Memorial, St. Louis.

[21] *American Catholic Historical Researches*, January, 1898, p. 11. A litre is 1.76 pints.

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is wanting in the Records of Ste. Genevieve from December 3, 1795, to May 22, 1796. In its stead we find for January and February, 1796, the name of Pierre Joseph Didier, Parish Priest of Saint Charles; in March, Pierre Janin of St. Louis; in April Didier once more, and in May, Jacques Maxwell, the new Vicar-General. On the 27th day of May, 1796, P. de Saint Pierre returned to Ste. Genevieve. The journey to Baltimore had occupied about six months, the time of his absence from the parish. The letter we referred to is addressed to Don François Valle, the Commandant of Ste. Genevieve under date of New Orleans, January 20, 1796:

MY DEAR FRIEND:

I must inform you of the atrocious calumnies that are being circulated in regard to me:

1. That the Bishop of Baltimore had forbidden me all sacerdotal functions within his jurisdiction.

2. That I had performed them during an entire year without his orders.

3. That he had finally driven me from the American Illinois and ordered that his parish priests should have all my jurisdictional functions done over again.

I at once asked that I be informed of the authors of these calumnies; but they are being hidden from me, I do not know for what reason. At the same time, I asked permission to be allowed to go in person to see the Bishop of Baltimore on this subject. This permission was given me, with the very highest testimonial regarding my conduct, which, it said, was altogether above reproach during the time that I officiated as parish priest with you, and an appeal to the Bishop was added at the same time, that he pronounce judgement on the above-mentioned charges.

According to these false reports it was believed that I had abandoned my duties as parish priest without having reported to my superiors. In this belief, before my arrival here (in New Orleans), another priest was sent in my place. In conformity with my promises made to the inhabitants I shall not accept any other parish than that of St. Genevieve. I was assured that it would be reserved for me, and that orders would be issued to the aforementioned priest to go farther on.

Upon my return to your town, I, on my part, promised to clear myself, with the high testimonial of the Bishop of Baltimore, of the calumnies made against me and to show the falseness of the alleged articles. This step did not cost me anything, as I had been engaged to take the trip by sea for reasons known to you.

Be kind enough to present my respects to your wife and give my love to all of your family for me. Say to my friends and all the parishioners that I appreciate highly their affection, and that I am absolutely unalterable in the resolutions and promises which I made, of not accepting any other parish than theirs, and that I absent myself from them, only to justify myself against the calumnies of wicked tongues, that I may remain with them for a longer and more peaceful period. Beg them also to cherish, assist and satisfy, in every possible way, the priest who will be sent in my place, and present my respects to him, and say that whatever I have is at his service and at his disposal, so as to make his stay agreeable.

I send the good news that Mr. Delassus has been promoted to fill the place of Mr. Portelles and that he will go to new Bourbon as soon as possible, and from there to Ste. Genevieve.

Mr. François Collell sends you his love and wishes to say that an unforeseen delay has prevented his brother from sending the barge up the river. He took possession of the barge and of all the money which Mr. Bonaventure had in commission on your account, and that of your brother. He will give an

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account of it according to your order. This same delay necessitates my remaining here a while longer to render my services.

Monseigneur, the Bishop[32] has ordered, at the bottom of the inventory of the property which the late Mr. Peyroux gave to the church, that Mr. Henri Peyroux should deliver the books, and now it is disputed; the bell has not arrived from Havana. The three hundred dollars the governor does not wish to have delivered until the chapel at New Bourbon is built. This chapel, in my opinion, will do more harm and cause more disorder than the amount is worth; but let the inhabitants decide. The Governor declared against the liberty of Mr. Vital's mulatto woman.

I am to be paid for the funeral services and burial of the widow Peyroux. . . . Do me the kindness to take possession of my corn, in case the king should need it.

While awaiting the happy hour when I shall be able to assure you in person of my unalterable affection, rest assured that my heart is as near as my body is far from you. God give you good health and every kind of prosperity.

I remain, my dear friend,

Your very devoted

De Saint Pierre.

New Orleans,
January 20, 1796.

P. S. I will write to you at the first opportunity from Baltimore or Philadelphia.[33]

But the days of Father de Saint Pierre as Pastor of Ste. Genevieve were already numbered. Father James Maxwell, an Irish priest, who had made his studies at Salamanca, had arrived just before de Saint Pierre's return from Baltimore, in May, 1796. Father Maxwell came as Grand Vicar of the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba and took up his residence in New Bourbon, whilst de Saint Pierre for a time continued his priestly ministrations at Ste. Genevieve. Two priests, in what was practically one parish, could not exist and would not subserve the best interests of religion. Father de Saint Pierre, though not removed, had to leave. The old militant spirit bowed to the acknowledged authority of the new-comer. On the second day of January, 1797, a public auction was held, at which the former pastor's lot of ground with house and barn, and all pertaining thereto, two slaves included, were sold to the highest bidders. The property is described as fronting on the Rue de l'Eglise, and bounded on the one side by the home of John B. Valle, and the homes of Augustin Aubuchon and John B. Lalumandière on the other. The amount realized was 1600 pesetos or dollars, payable either in money, or lead and peltry. The last entry of Father de Saint Pierre in the Baptismal Record of Ste. Genevieve was on February 27, 1797. What his immediate destination was we could not discover; probably the capital of the Province, New Orleans.

[32] Cirillo de Barcelona, Bishop of Tricala and Auxiliary for Spanish Louisiana.
[33] Ste. Genevieve Archives.

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Did he retire for a time from active service, or did he perhaps make a visit to the old home across the sea? The monasteries in France were abolished long since. In his native land he was forgotten. America had become his true home. But what was his later course? After the erection of the diocese of New Orleans in 1799, with Msgr. Louis Peñalver y Cárdenas as its first bishop, we catch a glimpse once more of Father de Saint Pierre in Natchez. The historian, John Gilmary Shea, in one of his letters to Chancellor Van der Sanden speaks of a voluminous document in Spanish, preserved in the diocesan Archives of Baltimore; a kind of record of trial under Bishop Peñalver of Father de Saint Pierre for breaches of discipline. The outcome of this trial must not have been unfavorable to the much buffeted missionary.

In any case he was one of the four priests of the twenty-six in all Louisiana, who, according to the statement of the Administrator, Rev. Thomas Hassett, December 23, 1803, "agreed to remain in their respective stations under the French government," and in consequence he received the appointment as Pastor of St. Gabriel's, Iberville, a parish on both sides of the Mississippi, "rather difficult to attend but also very lucrative," as a contemporary writes. Here Father de Saint Pierre labored with great, no longer "unmanageable" zeal and success, and until his death, October 15, 1826, fully twenty-two years.

Father Laval, in his notes transmitted to John Gilmary Shea, praises Father de Saint Pierre as "one of the most remarkable priests that ever administered St. Gabriel's church." "During his time," he says, "the church was removed from its former place on the bank of the Mississippi to where it now stands, the river having swept away the bank in front of it in 1717."

At St. Gabriel's Father de Saint Pierre, the last representative of the old regime, received the visit of Father Francis Cellini, one of the earliest followers of Bishop Du Bourg, who in his letter dated September 30, 1822, styled him "le brave et bon de Saint Pierre." Bishop Rosati never paid the old lion the honor of a visit. The Rev. F. G. Holweck, archivist of the Catholic Historical Society of St. Louis, kindly furnished us with the contents of two letters concerning the last days of P. de Saint Pierre. These letters were written by the Rev. Anthony Blanc, the future archbishop of New Orleans, and are dated Baton

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Rouge, September 23 and October 4, 1826. Bishop Rosati was the recipient. Father Blanc informs the bishop that he had administered the last sacraments to the pastor of Iberville. De Saint Pierre, whom he regularly styles, "the Old Man," being in his eighty-first year, could not, in all probability, survive the illness. The parish itself, he added, was in a flourishing condition. The older people attended High Mass and the Sunday Vespers with greatest regularity and devotion. Because the parish had for so many years enjoyed a well-ordered pastoral care, it would be advisable to appoint a successor immediately after the death of de Saint Pierre, or even during his lifetime; in the latter case, the successor might reside at Baton Rouge. The "Old Man" would not have an assistant. The bishop, suggests Father Blanc, might appoint a Lazarist, or Father Michaud, who was *fatigué et dégouté souverainement du service à la paroisse de N. Orleans.* There was another reason for this undignified haste. The "Old Man" himself had provided the necessity for an early appointment. There was a clause in the good Father's last will bequeathing all his property, valued by Father Blanc at about $6,000.00, exclusive of two slaves, furniture, cattle, etc., to his successor. Another clause ordained that "the priest who should officiate at his burial was to be the administrator of his estate, two laymen to assist him." Father Michaud received the appointment immediately after the death of the testator, and Father Anthony Blanc performed the last rites of the church over the remains of his friend and neighbor. P. Paul de Saint Pierre had found rest eternal. *Per varios casus, per tot discrimina rerum,* his memory still lives as one of the most remarkable men of our early western days.[34]

REV. JOHN ROTHENSTEINER,
St. Louis, Mo.

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[34] *Bibliographical note:* The author of this very imperfect sketch has used every available source of information on the life and character of P. Paul de Saint Pierre. In regard to the Illinois period, there were numerous letters and documents in the Virginia Series of the Illinois Historical Collections, Vols. i and ii, and the *American Catholic Historical Researches.* The Archives of the Missouri Historical Society furnished a number of unpublished letters, for which the First Vice-President of the Society, Judge Douglas, as well as the learned Archivist, Miss U. Beauregard, have our sincere thanks. The St. Louis Diocesan Archives have added a few notices of the later life of our valiant missionary. Any additional information would be gratefully accepted by the author.

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MISCELLANY

QUESTIONS ANENT MOTHER SETON'S CONVERSION[1]

The scope of this paper is not to tell once more the events which led to, and culminated in, Mrs. E. A. Seton's conversion. Her historians, availing themselves of her own *Diary* and Correspondence, and of notes jotted down by her at various times, have done full justice to the subject. But their uniform statements as to the date at which she was received into the Church imply an *impossibility* which must be removed; and their several accounts of her reception are usually worded in terms so vague, or so guarded as to whet, rather than satisfy, the legitimate curiosity of the reader. Our present purpose extends no further than to an investigation of just what took place on this occasion, and the unraveling of the mix-up of dates in which our historians are entangled.

I

First, the question of chronology.

Says Dr. C. I. White:[2]

> Mrs. Seton applied to be admitted into the "one fold under one shepherd." For this purpose, on the 14th of March, Ash-Wednesday, she went to St. Peter's church . . . After the service, Mrs. Seton made a formal abjuration of Protestantism, and profession of the Catholic faith.

Mrs. de Barberey writes in like manner:[3]

> Le mercredi des Cendres 14 mars, Elizabeth se rendit à l'église . . . L'office terminé, Elizabeth abjura formellement le protestantisme . . .

Such also is the language of Miss Agnes Sadler:[4]

> The day appointed for this (Mrs. Seton's reception into the Church) was the fourteenth of March . . . it was Ash-Wednesday . . . After Mass, she was called to the sacristy, and there made a formal abjuration.

Rev. B. Randolph, C.M., in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, repeats the same statement:[5]

> The result was that on Ash-Wednesday, 14 March, 1805, she was received into the Church.

In the universal harmony there is, it must be confessed, a seemingly dissonant voice—besides Sister M. A. McCann's, which need not be listened to, as her assertion is evidently erroneous[6]—and this voice is that of Mrs. Seton herself in a letter written April 2, 1805, to Father Cheverus:[7]

> . . . my soul has offered all its hesitations & reluctancies a sacrifice with the blessed Sacrifice of the Altar on the 14th March & the next day was admitted to the true ch: of Jesus Christ . . .

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[1] The writer—he should perhaps rather style himself compiler—wishes to acknowledge his indebtedness to Mother Margaret, Visitatrix of the Daughters of Charity and appreciating custodian of Mother Seton's precious manuscripts, to Rev. B. Randolph, C.M., of Germantown, Pa., and to Mr. Thomas F. Meehan of the staff of *America*. To the information readily and bountifully supplied by them is due whatever good is in this paper. Heartfelt thanks to them. The undersigned alone, of course, remains responsible for his conclusions.

[2] *The Life of Mrs. E. A. Seton.* New York: Kenedy, 1904 (10th edition), p. 152. All references to Dr. White's work are to this edition.

[3] *Elizabeth Seton et les Commencements de l'Eglise Catholique aux Etats-Unis.* Paris: Poussielgue, 1906 (6th edition), Vol. i, pp. 316–317.

[4] *Elizabeth Seton. Her Life and Work.* Philadelphia: H. L. Kilner & Co. (4th edition), p. 69.

[5] Art. *Seton, Elizabeth Ann*, Vol. xiii, p. 739.

[6] *The History of Mother Seton's Daughters.* New York: Longmans, Green and Co., Vol. i, p. 6: "She made her submission to the Catholic Church, at the hands of Rev. Father O'Brien in old St. Peter's Church, Barclay St., March 25, 1805." March 25, 1805, was the day of Mrs. Seton's first Communion; no doubt can be raised on this point.

[7] See White, *op. cit.*, p. 156. The text here given is the accurate transcript of the original manuscript of this letter. There is about this sentence a textual difficulty which shall be discussed hereafter (*Cf.* Mech. Seton, *Memoirs*, etc., Vol. i, p. 218).

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This, however, is not the worst difficulty. The main difficulty, indeed, resides in the fact that *March* 14, 1805, *was not Ash Wednesday*. Every one acquainted with the ecclesiastical calendar knows that Ash Wednesday can never be later than March 10, as April 25 is the extreme possible date of Easter. As a matter of fact, in 1805,[8] Ash Wednesday fell on February 27, Easter being that year on April 14. The 14th of March was, therefore, the Thursday after the second Sunday in Lent.

Still, we should not decry superciliously the lack of acumen of our historians. No doubt but that such of them as entered the field at the ninth or the eleventh hour followed in the footprints of those who went before; but these had given their authority, and, to make the confusion worse confounded, this authority was no other than Mrs. Seton herself, who *ought to have known*. The page of Mrs. Seton to which they appealed is from her *Journal to Amabilia Filicchi*. On account of its importance, we must cite here this page, reproducing as exactly as can be done in print the text written by Mrs. Seton's own hand and preserved in the Mother House of the Daughters of Charity at Emmitsburg, Md.; italicising the words underlined in the manuscript, paragraphing and punctuating carefully as it does, and marking scupulously the pen strokes or lines which now and then separate words or sentences.[9]

March 14th 1805.

A day of days for me Amabilia I have been—where—to the Church of St. Peter with a cross on the top instead of a weathercock——(that is mischieveous) but I mean I have been to what is called here among so many churches *the Catholic church*————

When I turned the corner of the street it is in, here my God I go said I, *heart all to you*—entering it, how that heart died away as it were in silence before the little tabernacle and the great crucifixion over it——ah my God here let me rest said I—and down the head on the bosom and the knees on the bench—if I could have thought of any thing but God there was enough I suppose to have astonished a stranger by the hurrying over one another of this off-scound congregation, but as I came only to visit *His Majesty* I knew not what it meant till afterwards—that it was a day they receive Ashes the beginning of Lent and the drole but most venerable irish priest who seems just come there talked of Death so familiarly that he delighted and revived me.———— after all were gone I was called to the little room next the altar and there professed to believe what the *council of trent* believes and teaches, laughing with my heart to my Saviour, who saw that I knew not what the council of trent believed, only that it believed what the church of God declared to be its belief, and consequently is now *my belief* for as to going a walking any more about what all the different people believe, I cannot, being quite tired out. and I came up light at heart and cool of head the first time these many long months, but not without begging our Lord to wrap my heart deep in that opened side so well described in the beautiful crucifixion, or lock it up in his little tabernacle where I shall now rest forever——Oh Amabilia the endearments of this day with the children and the play of the heart with God while keeping up their little farces with them—Anna suspects—I anticipate her delight when I take her next Sunday——

————So delighted now to prepare for this good confession which bad as I am I would be ready to make on the house top to insure the good *absolution* I hope for after it—and then to set out a new life—a new existence itself.

no great difficulty for me to be ready for it for truly my life has been well called over in bitterness of soul these months of sorrow past.

[8] See *Ordo Perpetuus Divini Officii juxta Ritum Breviarii ac Missalis S. Romanae Ecclesiae*, by a Benedictine of the Cong. of St. Maur, Dijon, 1759. The Tables of this *Ordo* cover the years 1758–1900. The initiated will find easily in the *Tabula Paschalis Nova Reformata* of any modern Breviary the date of the principal liturgical feasts of 1805, if they advert to the fact that, for that year, the *Numerus Aureus* is 1, the *Epacta* *, and the *Littera Dominicalis* F.

[9] A collation of the text herein given with that printed in Msgr. R. Seton's *Memoirs*, Vol. i, pp. 213–215, will reveal that the editor of the *Memoirs* took now and then liberties with the original. This ought to warn us that his transcripts bear watching.

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———It is done———easy enough—the kindest most respectable confessor is this Mr. O— with the compassion and yet firmness in this work of mercy which I wd. have expected from our Lord himself—our Lord himself I saw alone in him, both in his and my part of this venerable Sacrament—for oh Amabilia—how awful those words of unloosing, after a 30 years bondage—I felt as if my chains fell, as those of St. Peter at the touch of the divine messenger

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My God what new scenes for my soul———

ANNUNCIATION day I shall be made one with him who said unless you eat my flesh and drink my blood you can have no part with me———I count the days and hours—yet a few more of hope and expectation and then——— how bright the sun these morning walks of preparation———deep snow, or smooth ice, all to me the same I see nothing but the little bright cross on St. Peter's steeple—the children are wild with their pleasure of going with me in their turn.

Does not Mrs. Seton, in that page dated March 14, 1805, and undoubtedly written under the overpowering impressions of that "day of days for her," clearly identify that 14th of March with the "day they receive Ashes, the beginning of Lent"? And if there were any doubts, we need but turn to that Note-book of hers, where, under the caption, *Dear Remembrances*, she wrote, according to Msgr. Seton's transcript:[10]

> The thousand prayers, and tears, and cries from the uncertain soul which now succeeded until Ash Wednesday, 14th March, 1805, it entered the Ark of St. Peter with its beloved ones. Now the crowding remembrances, from that day to the 25th, of a first communion in the church of God.

"Ash Wednesday, 14th March, 1805": can there be anything more explicit? Yet the calendar's stony rigidity cannot yield; with mathematical-like obstinacy it points to February 27 as Ash Wednesday. Futile would it be to think our reckonings possibly at fault, owing to a change in the calendar; the Gregorian reform was adopted in England by an Act of Parliament in 1751, and became soon after applicable to the Colonies. Was then Mrs. Seton mistaken, or could anything take place in St. Peter's Church that Thursday morning, March 14, which she took for the ceremony of the Ashes?

Let us endeavor to untie, not to cut, this chronological gordian knot.

To begin with, no doubt that Mrs. Seton went to St. Peter's Church on Barclay Street, on March 14, 1805. There can scarcely be any question either as to her being received on that day in the Catholic Church. Of this proofs are in abundance. Besides her *Journal* to Amabilia Filicchi, there is the above-cited entry in her Note-book, written years after, which, no matter what may be thought of the identification of Ash Wednesday with the 14th of March, states explicitly that "14th March, it (her soul) entered the Ark of St. Peter;" there is likewise the inscription written on the copy of the *Following of Christ* which she gave to Antonio Filicchi: "Antonio Filicchi, from his dear Sister and friend, Eliza A. Seton, to commemorate the happy day he presented her to the Church of God, the 14th March, 1805;"[11] there is finally—for we must limit ourselves, but this last evidence speaks volumes—the singular devotion with which she ever kept the anniversary of that 14th of March. Of the most vivid and grateful remembrance she always treasured of that day, suffice here this one token, when in June, 1817, "preparing for death," she went over her papers and destroyed many of them, on fingering once more her *Journal* of 1805, she could not help jotting down these burning words:

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[10] *Op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 156.

[11] Thus White, *op. cit.*, p. 153, note. Sister M. A. McCann cites this inscription in another form: "A memorial of his success in her soul's affairs." We cannot help looking with distrust at these quotation marks, and are afraid the form given to the inscription was dictated by the singular opinion of the author about the day of Mrs. Seton's reception into the Church.

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> Oh! that March 14, 1805!
> And I came up light at heart and cool of head the first time those many long months, but not without begging our Lord to wrap my heart deep in that opened side so well described in the beautiful crucifixion, or lock it up in His little tabernacle where I shall now rest forever.

"That March 14" was, with March 25, anniversary of her first communion, a date engraved in her heart in letters of fiery gold and treasured likewise by all those who lived in close intimacy with her. No wonder, therefore, that Father Bruté, to whom the sacred trust of examining Mother Seton's papers had been committed, noted (September, 1829) on some of the documents belonging to this momentous period of her life: "A most precious account of her entering the Church 14th March, 1805 . . . Keep this sacredly for use *in tempore opportuno*."

No doubt, then March 14, 1805, was the day on which Mrs. Seton was received in the Catholic Church. True it is that, in her letter of April 2 to Father Cheverus, she seems to intimate that her reception took place only March 15;[12] but whatever she may mean by this belongs to the discussion of what exactly took place in these two days, March 14 and 15; at any rate, the same context puts into particular prominence March 14 as the day in which "her soul offered all its hesitations and reluctancies a sacrifice with the blessed Sacrifice on the Altar;" and this is enough for the present argumentation.

Now who is the priest who, on the first coming to church of a Protestant telling him he or she has made up his or her mind to become a Catholic, will forthwith proceed to receive the abjuration and profession of faith of that person? Even in the absence of the most elementary rules of theology and the explicit directions of the Ritual, should not common sense dictate that he scrutinize the dispositions of this pretended convert? Has he not investigate whether baptism was ever received, and, in case it was, to inquire where, from whom, and what may be the value of that baptism, in order that he may determine whether a new (absolute or conditional) administration of the sacrament is not advisable? True, Mrs. Seton was not entirely unknown to Father William O'Brien, of St. Peter's Church; during the summer of 1804, Antonio Filicchi had in her interest gone to consult the worthy Dominican and shown him the paper wherein Mr. Hobart, the Episcopalian Rector of Trinity Church, had set forth the claims of his Church against Catholicism; and Father O'Brien had advised her reading *England's Conversion and Reformation*,[13] and had soon after replied to the Hobart manuscript.[14] In January 1805, Mrs. Seton herself had "tried so many ways to see Dr. O'Brien,"[15] but for reasons independent of the will of both, the interview did not take place.[16] Thus frustrated in her efforts to find at home the guidance she so sorely needed amidst the darkness wherein she was plunged, she resolved to appeal to the charity and zeal of Father Cheverus,[17] of whom she had heard from Antonio Filicchi, then at Boston. Let us take it for

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[12] "My soul offered . . . on the 14th March & the next day was admitted to the true ch: of Jesus Christ."

[13] White, *op. cit.*, p. 113; De Barberey, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 257; Sadlier, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[14] White, *op. cit.*, p. 117; Sadlier, *op. cit.*, p. 63.

[15] Msgr. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 210.

[16] White, *op. cit.*, p. 148; De Barberey, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 310; Sadlier, *op. cit.*, p. 66.

[17] White, *op. cit.*, p. 149; De Barberey, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 310; Sadlier, *op. cit.*, pp. 66–68; the answer of Father Cheverus is printed pp. 67–68; it was first published in the *Life of Mother Elizabeth Boyle*, Staten Island, N. Y., 1890, pp. 27–28. After citing this letter, Miss Sadlier writes: "Shortly after the receipt of this letter, Elizabeth received one from Antonio Filicchi, which had been written to him in regard to her by Bishop Carroll." This statement appears to be incorrect. Bishop Carroll's letter referred to is clearly, judging from the gist of it given by the author of *Elizabeth Seton*, p. 68, the same as may be read in White, *op. cit.*, pp. 149–151, and Msgr. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 205–208, and dated January 13, 1805. Cheverus' letter was written March 4, and sent through Filicchi, because of the writer's ignorance of Mrs. Seton's address. In these conditions, that good Antonio actually communicated Cheverus' letter before Carroll's, as Miss A. Sadlier affirms, is so unnatural that the statement cannot be admitted without good documentary evidence.

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granted, moreover, that Father William O'Brien mentioned to his brother and fellow-worker at St. Peter's something about the prospective convert. All this notwithstanding, how can Father Mathew O'Brien be exculpated from the accusation of undue haste and rash disregard of the Ritual's implied injunction "to see to it that the postulant is exactly instructed in the Catholic faith and morals, to train him for some days in works of piety, to make sure that he perseveres in his purpose, to inquire diligently in what state and condition he is, particularly in regard to baptism previously received?"[18] Most hasty, too hasty, indeed, was certainly Father Mathew O'Brien if, as is asserted by all Mrs. Seton's historians, *the first time she went to St. Peter's Church*, on March 14, he at once received her abjuration and profession of faith.

Stranger still. Note, if you please, her reflection on her first visit to St. Peter's, touching "the drole, but most venerable Irish priest, who seems just come there;" he impresses her as if she has never seen him before, and, indeed, she cannot have seen him, since it is the first time she has come. Yet it was evidently by special appointment she went to the sacristy after the service: "After all were gone, *I was called* to the little room next the altar." Who then arranged for this appointment? No doubt, Antonio Filicchi, it will be said. If he did it just that very morning, Father O'Brien's haste was, as remarked above, inexplicable; if Filicchi had, on Mrs. Seton's behalf, made the necessary arrangements previously, is it not passing strange that everything, up to the supreme step of the convert's abjuration, was thus transacted by proxy?

On every side, improbabilities confront us. Of course, *Le vrai peut quelquefois n'être pas vraisemblable;* but to the unlikely history is loath to extend the right hand of friendship; only when it presents itself with proper high-class recommendations does she let it into the house.

Is the well-nigh incredible assertion implied in the narrative of our historians, to wit: that Mrs. Seton went to St. Peter's for the first time the day of her abjuration, March 14, sufficiently vouched for? Emphatically no. For Mrs. Seton herself asserts, and every one who has written on the subject repeats her assertion with perfect material correctness, that she went to St. Peter's for the first time on Ash Wednesday. The *Journal* to Amabilia Filicchi can indeed leave no doubt: "It was a day they receive the Ashes the beginning of Lent;" and the passage of her *Dear Remembrances* is in its own terse way quite as explicit: "The thousand prayers, and tears, and cries from the uncertain soul which now succeeded until Ash-Wednesday . . ." Only be it remembered that to say Ash Wednesday, 1805, is tantamount to saying February 27. On Ash Wednesday, February 27, therefore, should the first visit of Mrs. Seton to St. Peter's be dated.

This admitted, everything in this momentous period of her history succeeds in good order, the gordian knot of the impossible chronology hitherto blindly accepted is unloosed, and the otherwise inconceivable conduct of Father O'Brien proven to be according to the dictates of prudence and the rules of pastoral theology.

But what of the *Journal* of Mrs. Seton? What of her *Dear Remembrances*? Are not the texts absolutely incompatible with the view here advocated? On March 14, 1805, Mrs. Seton notes down her visit to the church of St. Peter; she was surprised, and had she not been so engrossed in her own thoughts, she would have been distracted by "the hurrying over one another" of the congregation going to receive the Ashes; she was, at first, a little startled, too, by the appearance of the priest, but

[18] Although the Ritual (Tit. II, Cap. 3) speaks all along of the *Baptizandi*, the rules laid down apply even when the convert is not to be baptised (Nos. 14 and 16). The question whether Mrs. Seton was actually baptised or not is in no way prejudicated.

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soon "delighted and revived" by his speech; and after all were gone, she was called "to the little room next the altar," and there made her profession of faith. All things to the contrary notwithstanding, it was "Ash-Wednesday, 14 March, 1805," as she notes in her *Dear Remembrances*. Texts are texts; and Mrs. Seton ought to have known. Thus the objection, and we hope we have not minimized it.

Yes, Mrs. Seton ought to have known; and precisely because she did know, she could not say that March 14, the day she was received in the Church, was Ash-Wednesday, any more than I can say that today, Thursday, May 1st of the year of grace, 1919, is Easter Sunday. I go farther and add, precisely because she did know, what she did say *must mean something else*.

Was she not possibly in error, and may not something have taken place in the church on that Thursday morning, March 14, which she mistook for the ceremony of the Ashes? Mistaken a neophyte might well be, indeed, about some non-essential though time-honored rite. But she was not mistaken: "she knew not" then what that hurrying of the congregation meant. She knew it, though, when she penned her account of it; she had learned it in the meantime. When? When she went to the sacristy after the service? Possibly; although we may well suppose she had, on this her first visit to St. Peter's, more pressing thoughts to engross her mind than that of this little disorder. Much more probably, however, the explanation came some time between Ash-Wednesday and March 14. But this is re-asserting on the force of a new argument the affirmation that she first went to the church on Ash-Wednesday, February 27; it is not explaining directly the puzzling page of her *Journal*.

This page has an interesting history which cannot be deemed here irrelevant. The only printed English text of that part of Mrs. Seton's *Journal*, which extends from the 14th to the 25th of March, 1805, is in the *Memoirs* published by her grandson, Msgr. Seton.[19] He, no doubt, transcribed it from the manuscript preserved in the Archives of St. Joseph's, Emmitsburg. A mere glance, however, at the faithful copy given above will easily convince the most indulgent reader that the editor of the *Memoirs* took liberties with the original. His alterations—mostly suppressions—prompted, no doubt, by excellent reasons, bear, it must be owned, upon unessential words and clauses; still the very fact that he made alterations inspires a certain distrust and warrants caution in the use of his transcripts. We need not follow him here, at any rate, since we have an authentic copy of Mrs. Seton's manuscript.

This manuscript itself, though written by Mrs. Seton's own hand, is not, however, the original of the *Journal*. The original was sent to Amabilia Filicchi and, together with the letters to Antonio, is kept as a precious relic by the Filicchi family.[20] Of these papers a copy by Patrizio Filicchi was by him presented to Mrs. de Barberey when she was preparing her work; and there is every reason to believe that copy, work of love and religious veneration, is correct in every way. Now judging from Mrs. de Barberey's excerpts, there were, between the original sent to Leghorn and the copy kept by Mrs. Seton, slight differences, consisting principally in dates given in the one and omitted in the other. In the Emmitsburg manuscript the whole passage given above contains only one date, March 14, 1805, but the blanks interspersed here and there obviously separate the various entries. The Leghorn manuscript fills

[19] White, *op. cit.*, p. 152, weaves into his narrative phrases of the entry of March 14, but does not cite it at length; he reproduces, though (pp. 153–155), the text from the words: "So delighted now to prepare for this good confession," to the end of the entry of March 25.

[20] De Barberey, Vol. i, p. 13: "M. Patrizio Filicchi, le fils aîné du noble Antonio, conserve comme un trésor les lettres que son père avait reçues d'elle (Mrs. Seton). C'est tout un volume manuscrit." The volume must have naturally contained also the letters to Amabilia, Antonio's wife and Patrizio's mother.

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the blanks, dating the several entries. Thus, before the paragraph: "So delighted now to prepare . . .," we find the date, March 16, 1805; the next entry: "It is done—easy enough . . ." belongs to March 20; the rest of the passage cited above is marked March 22; and it is followed by a long one, bearing the date March 25, containing the outpourings of Mrs. Seton's fervor after her first communion.

Only the first portion, that written on March 14, must presently detain our attention. Even material details here have a value and must be carefully pondered over. That entry of the 14th of March is made up of three different paragraphs. After the general statement brimming over with intense emotion: "A day of days for me, Amabilia," the writer notes she has gone to the Catholic church of New York. This in itself, though still vague, must be—and she knew it—to her friend a foretaste of most happy news. Not long since, late in December, 1804, Mrs. Seton had recorded a desperate visit to St. George's (Protestant) Church; and even though she noted then that she, that day, left the house a Protestant, but returned to it a Catholic, or, at any rate, determined to go no more to the Protestants,[21] and still, a few weeks later (February 15), seemed resolved to "go peaceably and firmly to the Catholic Church," yet in her letter (February 19) to Father Cheverus, so far as we can surmise from his answer, she confessed "her conscience whispers sometimes that she is too partial to the catholic side" and is not free from doubts and anxieties. The news of her going to St. Peter's, then, was tantamount to the announcement that all hesitations were at last put an end to. Mark, however, that she does not say that this "day of days" is the first time she has gone to St. Peter's.

The second paragraph depicts vividly her impressions of her *first* visit to the church "which has a cross on the top instead of a weathercock." It happened on Ash Wednesday, as she has learned since. Why, it will be asked, does she not specify: "When (on going there February 27 last) I turned to the corner of the street it is in . . ."? We offer no other explanation but that she is writing under an overpowering emotion; at all events, Amabilia will easily make out that, as that first visit, which Mrs. Seton now describes, took place on Ash-Wednesday, evidently she is not speaking of what has just happened on the day she writes, March 14.

What has just taken place on that "day of days," she now goes on to tell in the last paragraph: "After all had departed . . ." Here again we should like to find a few words making the meaning perfectly clear, something like: "This morning, after all had departed . . ." But insisting upon this paragraph is useless, Mrs. Seton herself, as has been seen above, and all her historians after her, dating her reception into the Catholic Church on that day.

In short, this entry of March 14 could be summed up in the following words: "Amabilia, I am now a Catholic: I first went to St. Peter's on Ash-Wednesday, and today have just been received in the Church."

Neither is, despite first appearances, the passage of Mrs. Seton's *Dear Remembrances* leastwise in opposition to the conclusions advocated above, once its text is accurately established as Mrs. Seton jotted it down, and a few obvious remarks are borne in mind. Mrs. de Barberey, who has left out one of the crucial words and made a little change at the end of the clause, renders the passage as follows:[22]

> . . . qui se succédèrent jusqu'au mercredi 14 mars 1805, jour où j'entrai dans l'arche du Seigneur . . .

[21] Msgr. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 214; White, *op. cit.*, p. 147; De Barberey, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 298. Msgr. Seton seems to date this passage January, 1805; White gives it after a fragment of a letter rightly dated November, 1804. Mrs. de Barberey's dating, December 19, 1804, is undoubtedly correct: in September, Mrs. Seton, prevailed upon by her desire for peace and by "persuasion about properties, &c.," had gone to St. Paul's; in the first days of January, she had taken "the desperate resolution to remain till the moment of death of no religion at all" (*Journal*, probably written in 1815); her visit to St. George's must come before this "desperate resolution."

[22] *Op. cit.* Vol. ii, p. 454.

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Here is exactly the text as found in the original of this note, preserved in the Archives of St. Joseph's, Emmitsburg:

> . . . the thousand tears of prayers and cries from the uncertain soul which now succeeded, until Ash Wednesday 14th March 1805 it entered the Ark of St. Peter with its beloved ones.

Mrs. de Barberey's departure from this text, slight as it is, is surprising, for usually she abides scrupulously by the original sources. A collation with the transcript of Msgr. Seton, as reproduced faithfully in the beginning of this paper, reveals that the good prelate, too, prevaricated. Waiving his unwarranted change of the "tears of prayers," we have, however, no grievous fault to find with his trying to introduce modern punctuation in these lines; for publishing his documents not with a view to cater to historians, but rather for edification, his solicitude to make his text intelligible to a modern reader was praiseworthy; every one acquainted with century old documents, especially letters and memorandums like the present, is fully conversant with the economy of punctuation marks practised in those days. The point, then, is: Did the editor, in introducing *his* punctuation marks, enter exactly into the meaning of his grandmother's text? No; since she could not possibly have any idea of identifying Ash-Wednesday, 1805, with the 14th of March. What she meant, then, was to mark the whole course of her entrance in the Church, *from* Ash-Wednesday, when she took the first definite step to that effect by going to St. Peter's, *to* March 14, when she was received. We would, therefore, suggest the following typographical arrangement, instead of that of Msgr. Seton, as expressing more accurately this meaning:

> . . . which now succeeded, until (Ash-Wednesday—14th March, 1805) it entered . . .

II

Vexing as is the chronological puzzle which the foregoing pages have attempted to solve, it is not more so than the problem of what exactly took place on March 14 at St. Peter's when Mrs. Seton was received into the Catholic Church. That she made abjuration of Protestantism and profession of the Catholic faith goes without saying; the Roman Ritual enjoins this previous "confession and detestation of the perverseness of their errors" upon all heretics who enter the Catholic fold, whether their baptism was valid or not. As a matter of fact, our often quoted *Journal* is most explicit on this point. The whole question, then, in the present instance, is reduced to the simple query: Was Mrs. Seton baptized in the Catholic Church?

Dr. White entertained little doubt that baptism must have intervened; for, citing (p. 156) Mrs. Seton's letter to Father Cheverus, upon the words: "My soul has offered all its hesitations and reluctances a sacrifice with the blessed sacrifice on the altar, on the 14th of March, and the next day was admitted to the true Church of Christ," he comments in a footnote: "By admission to the true Church, Mrs. Seton probably means that she was baptized conditionally and approached the sacrament of penance."[23] Before Dr. White, the author of a *Sketch of Mother Seton* printed in the Catholic Directory or Clergy List of 1842, had already committed himself to the statement that the subject of the sketch was baptized in St. Peter's in 1805, adding, moreover, that she then took the name Mary—an erroneous assertion, as Mrs. Seton received that name at confirmation, on May 26, 1806.[24] More modern historians of Elizabeth Ann Seton, however, word very guardedly their narratives of her recep-

[23] *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

[24] White, *op. cit.*, p. 176; Msgr. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 248; De Barberey, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 377. There is, in regard to this date, a slight difficulty arising from the text of a letter to Antonio Filicchi as given by Mrs. de Barberey; there must be here a misprint or a mistranslation: May 26, 1806, was Pentecost Monday.

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tion into the Church; and none of them makes the least reference to baptism. Had they doubts, or did they simply take the matter for granted?

Ad jus quod attinet, as canonists say, the discipline then in vigor in the American Church was that codified at the Synod held in Baltimore in 1791:[25]

> As nothing in religion is more holy and precious than the Sacraments, every possible care must be taken in regard to their right administration and their worthy reception. Beginning, therefore, with Baptism, which ushers men into the Christian Society, considering that in this country we live amidst a number of heretical sects which either do not administer Baptism at all, or administer it only to adults, or, denying its necessity for salvation, are very remiss in its administration; we ordain:
>
> 1. That conditional Baptism be conferred on those of the reality of whose Baptism moral certitude, after diligent inquiry, cannot be obtained; also that infants, baptized in danger of death by heretical or even Catholic midwives, be likewise baptized conditionally, unless the Catholic midwives are such that no prudent doubt can be entertained as to the validity of the baptism conferred by them. However, the pastors should keep carefully from re-baptizing indiscriminately, without making any inquiries, those who are not baptized by a priest; lest they incur the irregularity enacted by Pope Alexander III against those who repeat Baptism.
>
> 2. We ordain that the Pastors, inasmuch as lies in their power, write down in the Register kept for that purpose, the names and age of all baptized persons, also the names of the parents and of the sponsors.
>
> 3. When adult heretics validly baptized are converted to the faith, it is not necessary to supply the ceremonies omitted in their Baptism.

In the present instance, we may well take it for granted that, according to the axiom of law, "everything was actually done that should have been done:" the undoubted earnestness of the convert, the well-known learning, virtue and sterling priestly character of the pastor of St. Peter's, the interest taken in the affair by men of the stamp of Father Cheverus and Bishop Carroll, not to mention Antonio Filicchi, fully warrant the assumption.

The facts, now. Elizabeth Ann Bayley was born in New York, the 28th of August, 1774. The Bayleys attending Trinity (Protestant Episcopal) Church, it is quite natural to suppose she was baptized there. No record of the event, however, is extant, for the Baptismal Register perished in the fire which destroyed Trinity Church on September 21, 1776. Owing to the child's grandfather, Richard Charlton, being since 1747 rector of St. Andrew's Church, Richmond, Staten Island,[26] the baptism might possibly have been reserved to the venerable clergyman; accordingly a search was made in the baptismal records of that church, but it proved fruitless.

Lamentable though it is, the lack of documentary evidence of Elizabeth's baptism does not authorize the harbouring of any suspicions as to the actuality of the fact. Only two considerations would be of such a nature as to suggest doubt. In the first place, some Protestant sects, and many Protestant people, consider baptism an unessential ceremony, good in itself, but which may be dispensed with; it is sure that Elizabeth's parents did not share in this belief? The question is all the

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[25] *Acta et Decreta Sacrorum Conciliorum Recentiorum Collectio Lacensis*, Tom. iii, pp. 2-3.

[26] The church on Staten Island, of which Mrs. Seton's maternal grandfather was rector, is usually referred to by her historians as "St. Ann's." There was never any church of that name on the island. We have here another evidence of the blind faith with which our historians uncritically copy one another. "St. Andrew's Church was built in 1713 by the Rev. Eneas McKensie, in the administration of Governor Robert Hunter, under a charter of Queen Anne, who presented the Church with prayer-books, pulpit cover and a silver communion service with her name inscribed thereon." *Annals of Staten Island from Its Discovery to the Present Time*, by J. J. Clute. New York, 1877, pp. 262-263. "In 1747 the Rev. Richard Charlton became rector: his eldest daughter was connected by marriage to the Dongan family, and another daughter was the wife of Dr. Richard Bailey, who was Health Officer of the Port of New York and died in 1801; his remains are interred in the graveyard of the church. Dr. Charlton's ministry continued 32 years; he died in 1779 and was buried under the church."—*Ibid.*, p. 264.

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more pertinent because Dr. Richard Bayley, Elizabeth's father, is usually described as inclined to what, at the close of the eighteenth century, was called "philosophical ideas." "He does not appear," writes his great-grandson, "to have inculcated any very positive Christianity on his family, for this favored daughter of his once told one of her own children that she never heard him pronounce the name of Jesus Christ until he lay on his death-bed."[27] This is the second consideration possibly capable of casting a doubt upon the fact of Elizabeth's baptism.

These considerations, however, can have no weight here. No matter, indeed, how certain Protestants regard baptism, it is hard to believe, at any rate, their lax opinion was shared in by Elizabeth's mother, the daughter of a clergyman highly esteemed for the conscientious discharge of his duties. On the other hand, great as may have been Dr. Bayley's "philosophical" inclinations, and although it was possibly on his advice that his brilliant daughter, then seventeen or eighteen years of age, read Voltaire and Rosseau, yet he does not appear to be an anti-religious man, or alien to Christian sentiments, who used to carry about in his portfolio a picture of the crucifixion,[28] and who accepted to act as sponsor at the baptism of all his daughter's children born during his lifetime;[29] and if, as historians aver, he exercised a preponderating, nay, even a well-nigh exclusive influence on the education of his daughter, the fruits yielded by that education from Elizabeth's earliest years enable us to judge the educator. Once more let us turn to her *Dear Remembrances*:[30]

> At four years of age—sitting alone on a step of the doorway looking at the clouds, while my little sister Catharine, two years old, lay in her coffin; they asked me: did I not cry when little Kitty was dead? No, because Kitty is gone up to heaven. I wish I could go too with mamma.
>
> At six—taking my little sister Emma up to the highest window, and showing her the setting sun, told her God lived up in heaven, and good children would go up there. Teaching her her prayers. My poor mother in law,[31] then in great affliction, taught me the 22nd Psalm: *The Lord is my shepherd, the Lord ruleth me. . . . Though I walk in the midst of the shadow of death, I will fear no evil, for thou art with me;* and all through life it has been the favourite one.
>
> New Rochelle—Miss Molly B.'s—at eight years of age. . . . Admiration of the clouds. Delight to gaze at them: always with the look for my mother and little Kitty in heaven. . . . Every little leaf, and flower, or insect, animal, shades of clouds, or moving trees, objects of vacant, unconnected thought of God and heaven. Pleasure in learning any thing pious. . .
>
> Twelve years old—Foolish, ignorant, childish heart. Home again at my father's. Pleasure in reading prayers. Love to nurse the children and sing little hymns over their cradle. A night passed in terror, saying all the while, *our Father*.
>
> Fourteen years of age.—At uncle B.'s, New Rochelle, again. The Bible so enjoyed, and Thomson and Milton. Hymns said on the rocks, surrounded with ice, in transports of first pure enthusiasm. Gazings at the stars—Orion. Walk among cedars singing hymns. . . . Joy in God that He was my Father. Insisting that He should not forsake me. My father away, perhaps dead; but God was my Father, and I quite independent of whatever might happen. . . . At home. Methodist spinning girls. Their continual hymn "*And am I only born to die*," made deep impression.

Here, then, is a child who, at four years of age, has learned—no one will say she has that knowledge by intuition—of heaven as the bright abode of innocence and goodness; who, at six, has been made familiar with the thought of God, knows

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[27] Msgr. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 13.
[28] Msgr. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 200; De Barberey, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 269.
[29] See below the records of the baptism of Mrs. Seton's children.
[30] Msgr. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 148–150; De Barberey, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 443–446.
[31] A colloquial, now obsolete English expression for stepmother.

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her prayers and teaches them to her little sister, appreciates the tender *abandon* of the Psalmist's trust in God; who, some two years later, is naturally reminded of God by every object which meets her gaze, and finds "pleasure in learning anything pious," in reading prayers, in singing hymns as other children sing ditties. . . . Certainly in the atmosphere of the home where that child grew up there was the soft warmth of religion; apparently the "philosophical ideas" of the father were not averse to the worship of the God whom the "philosophers" themselves extolled so often in their books; at the Doctor's side was a woman with a pious turn of mind, seeking comfort in the words of the inspired poet-king, and who cannot be thoughs of as frowning upon her step-daughter's visible inclination to religion.[32] Neither does it seem that in the home of the Bayleys of New Rochelle Elizabeth breathed a different atmosphere: there it was that she "so enjoyed the Bible," and no reason whatever can be adduced to suppose that she, who was straightforwardness personified,[33] read the Bible by stealth. Whichever side we turn, therefore, we find her in surroundings where religion was in honor and where we cannot detect any laxness in regard to a sacrament which the Catechism of the Episcopal Church considered absolutely essential.

She, indeed, had never any doubts concerning her baptism. Of this her unhesitating conviction we hear an echo in a letter to Amabilia Filicchi, written July 19, 1804, only a few weeks after her return from Italy. Following a few lines on the impressions caused on her by the recent death of her sister-in-law, Rebecca Seton, she remarks:[34] "I had a most affectionate note from Mr. Hobart today, asking me how I could ever think of leaving the Church in which I was baptized." Furthermore, her care about the baptism of her own children is the best evidence of her view regarding this sacrament. The records of Trinity Church, in their official conciseness, tell sufficiently the story.

June 4, 1795. ANNA MARIA,
Born May 3, 1795.
Parents: William Magee and Elizabeth A, Seton.
Sponsors: Richard Bailey, Mary Fitch of Jamaica and Rebecca Seton.[35]

December 24, 1796. WILLIAM,
born November 25, 1796.
Parents: William M. and Elizabeth A. Seton.
Sponsors: Richard Bailey, Joseph Covachichi and Mary Post.[35]

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[32] What Mrs. Seton writes of her stepmother's death, in a letter to Antonio Filicchi, dated September 9, 1805 (De Barberey, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 348–349), is no indication that Mrs. Bayley was not a religious woman. Mrs. Seton simply compares the death of a Catholic surrounded by all the comforts of religion to that of the Protestants "who die without sacraments, without prayers, unaided at their last moment in the struggle of failing nature, deprived of the consolation which Almighty God has so abundantly bestowed upon us." This was no new impression upon her mind. Already in July, 1804, while still a Protestant, at the bedside of her dearest sister-in-law Rebecca Seton, the same thought had forced itself upon her mind, as we see in a letter of hers to Amabilia Filicchi of July 19: "The impressions . . . and the different scenes I passed through in Leghorn are far from being effaced from my mind, which indeed could not help even in the most painful moments of attendance on my beloved sister, making the strong comparison of a sick and dying person in your happy country, where the poor sufferer is soothed and strengthened at once by every help of religion; where the one you call *Father* of your soul attends and watches it in the weakness and trials of parting nature, with the same care you and I watch our little infant's body in its first struggles and wants on its entrance into life. Dearest Rebecca! how many looks of silent distress have we exchanged about this last passage, this breaking of time into eternity!" Mgr. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 195; De Barberey, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 249. The same vivid impression is given utterance to in a letter to Antonio Filicchi, dated March 14, 1807, at the occasion of the death of Mrs. Maitland (Eliza Seton); whom she had assisted in her last moments: "Oh, how awful! without prayer, without sacrament, without faith! Terrified, impatient, wretched! How shall we ever praise enough that mercy which has placed us in the bosom of our mother!"—White, *op. cit.*, p. 195; De Barberey, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 391.

[33] In 1793 her father wrote to her: "You will never deceive your father in thought or word."—Mgr. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 12.

[34] Mgr. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 195; De Barberey, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 249.

[35] Records of Trinity Church Baptisms, Vol. i, p. 327.

[35] *Ibid.*, p. 342(?).

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August 20, 1798. RICHARD BAILEY,
born July 20, 1798.
Parents: William M. and Elizabeth A. Seton.
Sponsors: Richard Bailey, Joseph Covachichi and Mary Post.[37]

November 19, 1800. CATHERINE CHARLTON,
born June 28, 1800.
Parents: William M. and Elizabeth A. Seton.
Sponsors: Mary Post, Catherine Duplex, Juliana Scott, Richard Bailey and Richard Curson Jr.[38]

September 29, 1802. REBECCA,
born August 20, 1802.
Parents: William M. and Elizabeth A. Seton.
Sponsors: William M. Seton and Elizabeth Sadler.[39]

From these records it will be seen that all, Catherine excepted, were baptized within a reasonable time—about one month—after their birth. The exception is interesting, in so far as it reveals Elizabeth's dislike of the delay, a dislike of which she explains clearly the cause and origin in a letter to her friend Julia Scott, who was to be the child's godmother:[40]

> As to our sweet babe, I think you would wish to be its nurse as well as godmother . . . Gyles told us you were to be here in a month from the time he left you; but the month is past and no Julia, nor do you intimate that you are coming. How well we might have managed, for you could have personally received your little daughter; but as it is I will defer having her christened until we go to town,[41] though against my inclination, for I think the covenant should be entered into as soon as possible, as it is too sacred to be trusted to accident.

Any person thinking the baptism covenant "too sacred to be trusted to accident" could not have any doubts indeed as to her own baptism. Nor can we.

But what was the value of this baptism? How was it looked upon by the Catholic clergy?

A letter to Bishop Carroll to Antonio Filicchi, dated Baltimore, January 13, 1805, acquaints us sufficiently with the Bishop's view of Mrs. Seton's Episcopalian baptism:[42]

> As far as it is in my power to judge of her state of mind, from the account of it contained in your letters, I do not think it advisable for her, at present, to perplex herself with reading any more controversy. She has seen enough on that subject to assure herself of the true principles for settling her faith. Her great business now should be to beseech our Divine Redeemer *to revive in her heart the grace of her baptism*, and to fortify her soul in the resolution of following unreservedly the voice of God speaking in her heart, however difficult and painful the sacrifices may be which it requires.

In Cheverus' letter of March 4 we find no such estimate, even when, after advising her, as the Bishop, that, in her present state of mind, "the reading of all controversial works would be perfectly useless," he adds further below: "It appears to me, that if at times you have doubts, anxieties, you are never for a moment a strong Protestant, although you are often, as you say, a good Catholic, and I believe you are always a good Catholic." Obviously, the eminent writer in these words means

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[37] *Ibid.*, p. 352.
[38] *Ibid.*, p. 361.
[39] *Ibid.*, p. 370.
[40] Msgr. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 64–65.
[41] Mrs. Seton was then on Staten Island at her father's cottage near the Health Establishment.
[42] White, *op. cit.*, p. 150; Msgr. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 206. Italics ours.

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to speak of her convictions, in perfect accordance with the Catholic faith. But, less than a year later, he did not hesitate to commit himself to an explicit statement in regard to the value he attached to the Episcopalian baptism of Cecilia Seton, Elizabeth's sister-in-law. Cecilia, then scarcely fifteen years old, was taken gravely ill during the winter 1805–1806. She begged that Elizabeth, whom she loved most tenderly and whom the Seton family had absolutely "cut off" since her conversion, should be allowed to come to see her. At once Mrs. Seton hurried to her bedside. But what should she do in the present juncture for the salvation, which she had so much at heart, of the dearly beloved child? She was afraid of speaking too much or too little; and once more she turned for light to Boston. Here is on this delicate point the answer of Father Cheverus:[42]

> I must first tell you that your conscience ought to be free from scruples about the past, since you have done, in regard to your interesting sister, everything which you thought discretion and prudence would allow. In her present situation is it your duty to go farther? I am at a loss myself how to give an answer to this question. I have for these few days consulted in prayer the Father of lights, I have endeavored to place myself in your situation. Here is the result, which, however, I propose to you with the utmost diffidence.
>
> Neither the obstacles you mention, nor the sickly state of the dear child, permit to instruct her in the points of controversy. What you have told her till now appears to me nearly sufficient. I would recall to her, when opportunity should offer, the amiable and pious wish of living one day in a convent, and there to become a member of the Church. Should she ask any questions, I would answer in few words, without entering into the particular merits of the question, telling her that when she is better you will examine the matter together; that, at present, it is enough to know Jesus and Him crucified, to put all her trust in Him, to suffer with Him, etc., to wish to become a member of His Church. Which Church is His? she will, perhaps, say, Answer: the Catholic, because it is the most ancient. If she asks no questions, I would confine myself to what you have said to her before. It is important that you may continue to visit her. Everything that would put an end to your intercourse with her must be avoided. The most embarrassing circumstance will be when you will see her near the period of the fatal disorder. Then, perhaps, you will be with her oftener and alone. Let the love of our adorable Saviour in His sacrament and on the cross be the subject of your discourse. You might also mention the anointing of the sick in St. James and if she desires it and it can be done, *procure to her the blessing of the last sacraments.* Could they be hard-hearted enough to refuse such a request, and at such a time? The whole weight of their displeasure will fall upon you, but God has given you strength to bear it, and will make rich amends by His interior consolations. It is probable, however, that you will not find an opportunity of accomplishing this. Should it unhappily be the case, you will have nothing to reproach yourself with; for if you attempt to do more than the above, it is almost certain that you will be hindered from doing anything at all.
>
> *Your beloved sister has been made by baptism a member of the Church.* Wilful error, I have reason to think, has never separated her from that Sacred body. Her singular innocence of mind and ardent piety have also, very likely preserved her from offending God in any grievous manner, and I hope, in consequence, that even if she cannot receive the sacraments, she will be a member of the triumphant church in heaven, although it would be to her an unspeakable advantage to receive the sacraments, and would render her salvation more secure.

Mrs. Seton's zeal, prudence and discretion had soon their reward, for one day that the two sisters-in-law were left alone, Cecilia, although realising perfectly what dire consequences would eventually follow the accomplishment of her resolution, confided to Elizabeth she had made up her mind to become a Catholic. Owing to

[42] White, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–185; Mgr. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 240–242. Italics ours.

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her condition, the fulfilment of her desire had to be postponed until her complete recovery. But we are not so much interested presently in Cecilia's conversion and the price the beautiful, heroic little soul had to pay for it, as in Cheverus' opinion on the value of her Episcopalian baptism.[44] If he advises Mrs. Seton "with the utmost diffidence" touching the course to follow in her dealings with the sick girl, he uses no such rhetorical precautions about his assertion of Cecilia being "by baptism a member of the Church." Humble Father Cheverus requested Mrs. Seton to communicate his letter to Father Tisserant and to "beg of him to correct anything which should not be perfectly exact." That Father Tisserant endorsed the letter is indirectly proven by the fact that the Baptismal Register is again absolutely silent about the baptism of Cecilia, who, to the great delight of her sister-in-law, was received in the Church on the 20th of June.

One month after the latter event, Annina, Mrs. Seton's eldest daughter, made her first communion. It will be recalled that, on the 14th of March, 1805, Mrs. Seton wrote: "Anna suspects" (her mother's conversion). "I anticipate her delight when I take her next Sunday." Neither Anna, therefore, nor any other of the children had she taken to church with her on the day of her profession of faith. Yet, recalling later the emotions of that "day of days for her," she said her soul "entered the Ark of St. Peter with its beloved ones." If the clergy, indeed, had satisfied themselves of the validity of her baptism, they must be satisfied likewise of that of her children's. No wonder, then, that neither the name of Anna Maria nor those of her two brothers and two sisters are to be found in the Baptismal Register of St. Peter's, and that henceforth we see them accompanying in turns their mother to church, and one after another making their first communion in due time without further ado.

Three years later (1809), at Emmitsburg, the Seton family counted another convert, Harriet, Cecilia's sister.[45] As in the case of the others, no record of her baptism is extant. Here, however, the absence of testimonial cannot be construed into even a presumption that she did not receive conditional baptism; for already, at the time of Father Bruté's rectorship of the parish, no records prior to 1812 were in existence. Neither can the words of Harriet's *Memorandum* be understood of her recent baptism:[46]

> September 24th—Day of the Blessed Virgin of Marcy—Received my first Communion. On the same day made a renewal of my baptismal vows.

The renewal here mentioned was a ceremony, probably of French origin, usually taking place on the day of the first communion.

Leaving aside, therefore, this case of Harriet Seton, in view of the injunction of the Synod of Baltimore and of the practice of the priests at the time, of faithfully registering baptisms, both absolute and conditional, and even the supplying of baptismal ceremonies,[47] the fact that no entry is found of the (conditional) baptism of either Mrs. Seton, or her children, or her sister-in-law Cecilia can be assigned no other cause than that none of these converts was even conditionally baptized.

What, then, did Mrs. Seton mean in her letter of April 2, 1805, to Father Che-

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[44] Cecilia had been baptized in Trinity Church by Dr. Moore.
[45] She, too, like her sister, had been baptized by Dr. Moore at Trinity Church.
[46] Mgan. Seton, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, p. 56.
[47] Of the exactitude of the priests in recording baptisms, and even the supplying of baptismal ceremonies, we have evidences in the old Baptismal Registers which have been published. Suffice it to mention here the *List of Baptisms registered at St. Joseph's Church, Philadelphia*, printed in the *Records of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia*, Vol. i, pp. 246 and foll. No record seems to have been kept in Baptismal Registers of cases like that of Mrs. Seton, where there was not even the supplying of ceremonies; nor indeed was it the place for such entries: if they were made anywhere, it should be rather in the *Liber Status Animarum*. An investigation in that direction might repay the trouble.

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verus, when, after mentioning the 14th of March, she adds: "and *the next day* was admitted to the true Church of Jesus Christ"?

Were we to follow Msgr. Seton's text, no difficulty would be in the way, for he simply leaves out the troubling words: "the next day." But these words are in the original of Mrs. Seton's letter, and the difficulty arising from them is not solved by wantonly amputating them against all rules of historical criticism. An explanation, then, must be found, for these words must have a meaning. Now if we advert to the statement of the *Journal*, that on the 14th of March, 1805, Mrs. Seton made *profession of faith*, and to the wording of the inscription written on the copy of A Kempis given to Antonio Fillicchi, that, on that day, he *presented* her to the Church, it may well be that, when she speaks of her being admitted to the true Church on March 15, she refers to the absolution of the censures which follows the profession of faith and was postponed until the morrow. There is certainly no more insuperable objection to this postponement than there could be to the delay of conditioual baptism, if conditional baptism there must be as Dr. White intimates.

Let it be borne in mind, however, that the conclusion here advocated—namely, that neither Mrs. Seton nor her children and her sister-in-law received conditional baptism on their entrance in the Catholic Church—cannot be given the note of absolute certitude. Dr. White's hypothesis still remains possible; for, after all, the clergy of St. Peter may not have been in the habit of registering conditional baptisms of converts, or even if they were, may, absolutely speaking, have been remiss in this part of their duty in this particular case. As a matter of fact, and not to go much outside of Mrs. Seton's circle, when Mr. S. Cooper was received in the Church by Father M. Hurley, O.S.A., in the fall of 1807, in St. Augustine's church, Philadelphia, no record was entered in the Baptismal Register at the time; nevertheless, a few years later, in order to enable Mr. Cooper to receive Orders, Father Hurley drew up a certificate attesting the fact of the convert's baptism at the time of his reception into the Church.[48]

Still these considerations affect in no way the status of the question in regard to Mrs. Seton, for Father Hurley may have entertained, touching the protestant baptism of Mr. Cooper, doubts which the protestant baptism of Mrs. Seton did not legitimate; each case is to be judged on its own merits and dealt with accordingly. On the whole, then, the probability against Mrs. Seton's baptism at St. Peter's remains extremely great and bordering on certitude, whereas the probability of her being baptized is hardly more than a mere possibility.

By way of conclusion, let us sketch briefly in correct chronological order the events of these few weeks of Mrs. Seton's life.

The year 1805 began for her in the same spiritual darkness and misery in which she had groped during the last few months. On Sunday, December 17, "in desperation of heart," she had gone to St. George's Episcopal church; but, "being much more troubled than ever," she had, on returning home, "determined to go no more to the Protestants." Epiphany Day, therefore, she spent at home, "alone with God," she says, "in so singular a manner as to take the desperate resolution to remain till the moment of death of no religion at all, since I could not find out the right one. With what ardor and firmness I would stretch out arms to Him and cry, I will hold to you in life and death, and hope and trust to the last breath. Then . . . dusting a volume of our Bourdaloue, I opened the very festival and on the words: O you, who have lost the star of faith! Then the torrents of distress and anguish overwhelming again. To see a Catholic priest, O it was the only supreme

[48] This certificate is in the Archives of the American Catholic Historical Society of Philadelphia.

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desire on earth." Once more she resolved, after heartily committing her cause to God, again to read these books, on the Catholic faith which had first won her towards it, and in consequence would, she hoped, with a helping hand from above, lead her to it; and then it was she "tried so many ways" to have an interview with Father O'Brien. Unable to meet the priest, she penned a letter to Bishop Carroll, "but his silence to Mr. Anthony's letter makes me hesitate to send mine," she remarks.

Meanwhile, her friends made use of every argument to dissuade her from becoming a Catholic. "Now they tell me," she writes to Amabilia on February 15, "to take care, that I am a mother, and must answer for my children at the judgment seat, whatever faith I lead them to . . . That being so, I will go peaceably and firmly to the Catholic Church. For if faith is so important to our salvation, I will seek it where the true faith first began, will seek it among those who received it from God himself." "I will go peaceably and firmly . . ." The day was drawing near, but it had not yet come. Neither her fervent prayers nor her penances so long persevered in dispelled the doubts. Finding no help near, she determined (February 19) to seek the advice of Father Cheverus, of whom Antonio Filicchi had written so highly in his letters from Boston. Before the learned and zealous missionary was able to answer, Antonio Filicchi had returned to New York and communicated to his still hesitating friend Bishop Carroll's long-delayed reply (January 13) to his letter sent from Boston on October 4. Mrs. Seton should beseech our Lord "to fortify her soul in the resolution of following unreservedly the voice of God speaking to her heart, however difficult and painful the sacrifice may be which it requires." This letter, it seems, was the ray from heaven which dispelled all her hesitations. On Ash Wednesday, February 27, she went to St. Peter's and prepared for her reception in the Church. Cheverus' answer, dated March 4, and received some days later, could but encourage her in the course she had entered upon; and indeed, "with a mind grateful and satisfied as that of a poor shipwrecked mariner on being restored to his home," she made, on the 14th of March, her profession of faith at the hands of Rev. Mathew O'Brien and in presence of Antonio Filicchi.

Anxious to leave, on commencing a new existence, no page of her past life unscrutinized, five days she prepared for her general confession, which was made on March 20, with what sentiments of faith and appreciation of the Sacrament the *Journal* reveals. Five more days of intensely fervent preparation, and the blessed hour came when, in her soul's exstasis, she could write:

> At last, Amabilia, at last, God is mine and I am His. Now let all earthly things go as they will. *I have received Him* . . .

CHARLES L. SOUVAY, C. M., D.D.,
Kenrick Seminary,
St. Louis, Mo.

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DOCUMENTS

BISHOP PURCELL'S JOURNAL, 1833–1836

(Contributed by Sister Mary Agnes McCann, Ph.D.)

Redde Rationem Villicationis Tuae.—Luke, xvi, 2.

1833—Nov.

Having resolved to keep a faithful account of my administration of the diocese of Ohio and of the remarkable events, ecclesiastical and political, connected with it, or interesting to the Holy Cause of Religion in these U. S., I begin from the epoch of my acceptance of the appointment, confirmed by the Holy See, to chronicle in this Journal, whatever it will be given me to use useful to myself, profitable to my clergy, a light to my flock & a guide to my successor when I am in the house of my eternity, the Mansions of glory which my Saviour has bought for me with his blood, which my Father above has prepared & which the Most Holy Spirit that proceedeth from the Father and the Son, I confidently hope, will enable me by efficacious grace to secure.

As soon as the various Catholic newspapers announced my nomination—which Rt. Revd. Dr. England informed me by letter from Rome, had been made—not by him, but by Prelates of the U. S. in his absence, I was importuned by Parents and Guardians of the Scholars under my care at Mt. St. Mary's College for information as to the probability who wd be my successor—For a considerable time, I was at a loss what answer to return—Revd. Mr. Hayden was consulted & offered the Presidency of the Institution. He declined the charge & Revd. Mr. Jamison was approved, at my suggestion, by the Abp. for the onerous duty of President. Revd. Mr. Wainwright of the Balte. Cathedral having brought me the Apostolic Brief of my election to the See of Cincinnati, in the begin. of Aug. 1833, I made a retreat with the Seminarians—conducted by Revd. Mr. Bruté, to implore the Divine Light that I may the will of God [*sic*]—I consulted enlightened, old and pious friends—they advised the course I have pursued. . . . Agreed wth the Most Revd. ArchB. that the consecration shd take place on the 13th October. Made a re-retreat at Conewago—where Revd. Messrs. Lekeu and Paul Kohlman exercised the virtue of hospitality in my regard and edified me much by their unaffected piety. Revd. Mr. Hickey kindly came to hear my confession. From that moment to my consecration, he never left me.

My consecration took place on the 13th Oct. 1833. (See the various Catholic Papers of the U. S. for a description of the ceremony and that of the opening of the Provincial Council on the Sunday fol.) From the 10th to the 20th, Rt. Revd. Bps. DuBois and Kenrick went to the Mountain. I staid in Baltimore where I was politely and kindly entertained by Mr. Francis Elder & Lady & Sister, Miss Laura Laurenson. We, the Bishops, dined at Mr. Caton's & McTavish's, where it was unpleasant to hear so many family secrets & scandals about the division of old Mr. Charles Carroll's estates. I made a hasty visit to the district of Cola. to see Revd. Mr. Schreiber & G. T. College before I left the East. Heard

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of the attempt of the students of George T. Coll. to mob and abuse their Prefect, Mr. Lancaster—Experienced kindness from Messrs. John White, Abraham White, G. W. Reed, Basil Elder, Robert Barry—but particularly from Mr. & Mrs. (Thos.) Meredith—the latter gave me Thirty Dollars.

On 2d Nov. returned to the Mtn. Sang High-Mass (Pontifical) and preached, the Sunday fol. In Town & at St. Joseph's the two ensuing days—Tho employed in administering last Sacraments to Mrs. Brookes and interring her. Left on Thursday and pd. 100 Doll. for Stage from Frederick (where Revd. Mr. McElroy & the French Ladies were (as usual) very Hospitable in receiving us—) to Wheeling. Arrived in Wheeling after two accidents which might have proved dangerous, but did not—thanks to kind Angels—on Sund. morn. at 5 oClock. Found Mr. Hoerner at his Hotel. Heard the Sisters' Confessions—Alphonsa & Cephas. Said Mass & preached—preached again, by special request, in the evening after supper—Nearly all present Protestants; Mr. Pentoney, to whom I had a letter from F. Elder, was very civil—invited us to his house to tea and hired a carriage at his own expense to fetch Bisp. David and Mr. Ellery (Bardstown lay brother) from Mrs. Thomson's, 3 miles from Wheeling, where they staid, and where they could get no wine either Sunday or Monday Morn. to say Mass. Mrs. Moore & her sister, Miss McGovern (since married to Mr. Zave) made us put up at their house.—I mean Mr. Young (Revd. Provincial of the Dominicans) and myself—the young men, Messrs. OMealy & OLaughlin & James McCallion, who came with me from Emmitsburg, put up at Mr. Hoerner's Hotel. The Sisters & little Willy Ryan went to good Mrs. Magruder's, formerly of Frederick. Miss Ann Marr, who came likewise from Emmitsburg, as My Housekeeper, staid with them. On Mond. at 2 P. M. we came down the River in the Steam-Boat—*Emigrant*—Pd., as well as I rem. 8 Doll. a head. Arrived at Cincinnati, on Thursday, 14th Nov. at 10 A. M. Went to the house of Mr. Santiago, opposite to the Church—There dressed in *Pontificalibus*—The clergy came to receive me—Went in procession to the Church—Was addressed by Venerable Bishop Flaget—Bp. David present—Chaunted the prayers prescribed in the Pontifical and observed all the other ceremonies—See "Telegraph" for this day & fol. Sunday—

Had many arduous duties to perform, tho' frequently interrupted by kind children coming to visit their new and long looked for Spiritual Father—Arranging the preliminaries for the transfer of the property of the late Bishop, Rt. Revd. Dr. Edd. Fenwick—The Executors were Very Revd. Dr. Resé, Very Revd. Nicholas Young (the Bishop's nephew) and Revd. Anthony Ganilh, a French Priest. The last mentioned gentleman induced the late Bishop to make a new will, which he, (Ganilh) drew up, setting aside one made by Lawyer Storer! and all that said Ganilh may shew his knowledge, or rather his most fatal ignorance of the Law and he appointed one of the administrators. Ganilh did not come to Cti. knowing how anxious I must have felt to have the estate settled up, he still remained at Bardstown where he teaches in the college. My Lawyer advised me to go to him & insist on having all the papers, bonds, notes deeds, mortgages which he most unwarrantably abstracted from the State and Diocese.—The journey was dull & the weather very cold—I got the rheumatism

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in my back from cold—The covering of the beds in the St. Boat being very narrow. Revd. Mr. Abell rode with me from Louisville to Bardstown—40 miles through snow & mire—I rode an Indian Poney—Mr. Young another, both belonging to Mr. Byrne of Louisville, whose Father, one brother and one Sister live in Cti. We put up with him—His Lady is very obliging, altho' a Protestant. In L. I was happy to meet Hannah Downing of Mallow—staying at Mr. Haynes of Doneraile. On the Road from L. to B. we slept at a Tavern where two Travelers rising at Midnight, took our saddlebags, containing my cassock, breviary &c—and Mr. Young's who had these affairs under his charge—We had to send after them & in about 6 days recovered our property. The crossing of creeks is serious business on these bad roads—they are now McAdamising them—The appearance of Kentucky is real negro—the difference in so short a distance between it & the well settled parts of Ohio is immense. I staid but a very short time at Bardst—15 hours—had to argue Mr. Ganilh into a surrender of the Muniments. Visited Nazareth—and Revd. Mr. Reynolds & Deluynes, Supr. & Confessor of the Good Sisters. Made the whole journey back next day—Mr. Young was fatigued enough to give up the ghost but we kept at it & recruited quickly before the blazing hearth of Mr. Byrne. There was a benefit at the L. Theatre for the Orphan-Asylum, at this time.

Arrived at Cincinnati, without breaking my fast at 1 P. M. on 1st Sunday of Advent—Said Mass—The Past. Letter of the Bishops was read today—fol. Sunday, mine was read—Sunday after that, I preached a Charity Sermon. It was the highest amount that had ever been recd. on any such occasion in the church—It was merely a compliment to the new Bishop—My sermon I borrowed up & down—and might well say "Non Nobis Dne." I attended an anniversary meeting of the Ohio Lit. Soc. this week, by special invitatn. and under a broad sign of the Cross said a prayer &c.

The Exercises of the Jubilee, which finished on the 2d Sunday of Advent, were well attended. There must have been, at least, 600 Cts. It is to be celebrated throughout the diocese, in any three consecutive weeks, the various Pastors may see best to designate, according to the occupations or leisure of their respective flocks, from the 1st of Jan. to the 1st. of July, 1834.

For departure of Bp. Rese, see Telegraph of this date. I had to give him my note for upwards of 500 Doll. to meet the demands of Grocers, Dry Goods men, &c. &c. for value recd. by the inmates of the Coll. & Sem. before my arrival! Thousands upon thousands of Dollars had been expended on buildings which are ill-constructed & inconvenient, of wretched materials, half-finished, leaking, mill-dewed roofs & walls; floors loose & badly laid, hydrants left insecure against external injury—property not enclosed & people stealing our wood & coal—House full of filth—Meals ill-cooked & most ungainly & uncleanly servants. The Priests of the Sem. its Presidents! B. O. C. (Bernard O'Cavanaugh) took the young Seminarians to *Whiskey shops* & to *the Theatre*. Came home drunk at midnight, as Ven. Bishop David beheld with horror, with his own eyes—another Presid. of Sem. J. V. W. (Joseph Vincent Wiseman) had the boys of the street at his heels, shouting after him as he reeled drunk thro' the streets. These are awful lessons for the Bishop charged to educate a pure &

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blameless Priesthood, not to entrust their formation to every sacerdotal virtue & usefulness, to men whom it wd. have been better, as the Saviour said, never to have been born, or to be cast with the Millstone of scandal around their necks into the sea, not deep enough to hide their shame—to purify their iniquities. One of these Seminarians, no wonder, under such guides & in full view of such enormities, provoked a boy, sent to learn printing first, in the Telegraph office, to defray by his labor part of the expense of his future Eccles. instruction and then join the Sem. Such the pious wish of exemplary Parents—to draw a knife upon him & wound him in two places in the public refectory!—This was some months before my arrival—Bp. Rese, then Vic. Gen. excommunicated the boy & still left him among the rest of the occupants of the Athenaeum, at meals, prayers, &c. &c.!!!

As this is for my own and my successor's direction, I think proper to insert the names—Daugherty was the name of the Seminarian—Philips of the boy. Daugherty was grossly ignorant and I wd not re-admit him—he had left & gone to Mr. Consedine's—a little out of town, before I came hither. Philips I permit to stay, for a longer trial.

B. O. C. having been suspended by Dr. Resé, remained a short time at Revd. Mr. Reid's, St. Martin's Church, Browne County, Ohio, where he was when the suspension was handed to him by Revd. Mr. Thienpont. Revd. Mr. Reid knew that Revd. Mr. O. C. had made himself liable to Suspension—that the measure was actually in contemplation, yet he left him in care of his congregn. & infant Sem. of St. James (consisting of 9 or ten scholars—and proceeded to New Orleans, without my leave, altho I was daily expected in Cini—The Council having terminated some time previously, B. O. C. had to leave St. Martin's & returned to Cinci. applied to me for faculties which I refused—He stays at Mr. Downey's, Merchant—A melancholy ruin.

The opening of a school at St. James' was altogether premature. There are 3000 acres belonging to the Bishop, 50 of which are cleared and under fence. The country around is very healthy—altho' in winter the road, except from Cini. to Milford, is truly vile—The place is now resorted to, as likely to prove an interesting Catholic settlement, by numerous Catholic families—Irish, German, French—The Protestant Americans are leaving the neighbourhood chiefly, it is presumed, owing to the great influx of Roman Catholics. The best of the nascent Congn. I believe to be—Mr. John Gross, formerly of Conawago—Married to an Irish Lady—he is a shoe maker—has a son learning the Printing in Cti. He lives in Fayetteville, nearly three miles from St. Martin's Church. In same village Mr. and Mrs. McGroarty—two brothers & two Wives—Mr. & Mrs. Nead—very worthy people—Nearer the Church—Mr. & Mrs. Scanlon—Mr. and Mrs. Boyle, old Mr. Bamber—an English-Man who has had quarrels with Revd. Mr. Reid (who is said by all his flock to have the fashion of denouncing them for their real or supposed faults, too plainly, from the altar—Bamber Sen. when he drinks rides thro' the Village of Fayetteville, cursing the Irish. His two sons and two daughters-in-law are said to be better Catholics. Mr. & Mrs. McKittrick & family are—So So Catholics—the old people, well meaning I imagine—Mr. & Mrs. Kelly, young married couple,

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attentive to their duty—they, Mr. & Mrs. O'Connor, Monsieur Conrard & family, all good, live on the road before you reach F. Ville. Mrs. Savage, a most excellent American Lady, with her husband, lives near the Church of St.M. Jacquot, Mellard—are two French families—good—22 Miles from here, (Cini.) on the road to F. Ville, are several Catholic families—French Germans from Nancy & Strasbourg—and Irish—There are many also—5 miles nearer this side, at *Perrins Mills*. Mr. Owens (an Irishman) and his wife, an American lady, live at the X roads. I visited them on St. John's Day and told the man to prepare and renew his Com. on the 2nd of Jan. 1834, when I wd call again on my return from St. Martin's, which Congregation I thought it my duty to visit, in order to afford its long desolate members (Mr. Reid not having returned from his unauthorised excursion) the oppty. of complying with their religious duties at this Holy season. I was accompanied by Revd. Mr. Deloughery—I staid until after Din. on New Year's Day, at St. M. where I preached twice and in the interval between the two festivals—Sunday & New Year,—visited many of the Cath. around. This may be made a most fervent missionary station—People simple & full of Faith. Yet scandals have begun here, in the Sanctuary & near it. Mr. Reid's *brother* has been accused of too much familiarity with a servant maid, of whom I was shocked to find no fewer than three of inexperienced youth here—from 16 to 20. These abandoned among scholars, workmen, &c, &c.

On 2d. Jan. Mr. Owens went to Holy Com. His wife, only baptized, was afraid she was not prepared to go to confession—otherwise polite & clever.—No charge made here for selves or horses—Will make this home a station.

Coming home, weather bitterly cold. My horse fell under me on the Ice—I had before fallen from him by his starting when I had only one foot in the stirrup. Kind G. Angels nigh "ne offendam versus lapidem" I have great faith in Angels' care & say daily "Angele Dei" &c.—on my return had letters from Mt. St. Mary's from Miss Ogier, &c. &c.—Miss Ogier wishing me to pray for the resurrection of her most amiable nephew, John Louis Ogier, from the grave!—This fine boy died in conseqce of a strain & interior injury from a leap down the stone steps, near the Wash-house at Mt. St. Mary's.

Epiphany.—Preached today to a thin congregation—Holidays not well kept here. John Carroll Wheland, Joseph Fry, John McNeal, Farrell Reily, Vincent Spalding, two Melines, Dr. Auth. Hermange—been to see me since I have been in Cti. All Mountain students. I gave art. headed Epiphany & Brother Edward's Poetry headed "The Lord is My Light &c. for Telegraph—Piece headed Xmas also mine (a previous paper contained letter of Mt. St. M. students & my answer.)

On Epiphany Evening, a project of constitution for the "St. Benevolent Society for the support & instruction of destitute orphans" was submitted to a meeting convened in the Athenaeum & the same after due exam. approved. Vid. Telegr. of this date. Mr. Cassilly (M. P. Esq.) who had expressed to the late Bishop, & many others, an intention to purchase & make a present of a suitable house for an Orphan Asylum, was so much offended at his donations being published prematurely in the Cath. Papers that he withdrew the grant

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and instituted, before my arrival, a suit, and menaced to dispossess the Sisters.

Jan. 6.

His language has been, frequently indecorous in speaking of them & of the Revd. I. J. Mullon. The wife of Mr. Cassilly is a bigoted and bitter Protestant & she has worried him and put him to great and unnecessary expense, reproaching him with reluctantly granting her articles of costly dress &c. while he cd afford to squander 5000 Doll. on Lazy nuns. He has the pusillanimity to bear with such insults and to insist, moreover on having back the house & lot occupied by the Sisters—they are in Sycamore St., at least, two squares from the Church. Guided by the conduct of St. Aug. on a nearly similar occasion, vid. his life by Appolonius, I prefer to tell him to take his house—the God of the orphans will find them a home. He has strong faith—comes regularly to church, sincerely intends, I believe, to do something generous for the distressed—but he is persecuted at home. I have made up my mind not to quarrel with him, nor with anyone. Servum Dei non oportet litigare. It is true that the Directors of the U. S. Bank in this City gave him the property 500 Doll. cheaper than they wd have let him have it, if he had not protested that he bought for the Orphans. But let the Sisters leave the house, not charged with rent for the last 4 years and I am satisfied.

Jan. 7.

A Bricklayer, employed by Revd. James Reid, to build the new house at St. Martin's Browne Cty. is in town waiting for payment of his bill. Having no money & not knowing the nature of his contract with that clergyman, I cannot advance him funds—To get him away from Brown Cty. & enable him, as he seemed then anxious to go home, I gave him, when I was up there, at New Year, ten Doll. He stays here and talks imprudently and continually of the Priest—Bishop too very probably. He is of no religion, altho' he professed over-and-over to me at Mrs. Savage's that he & his wife—living in Maysville wanted very much to join the R. Cath. Ch. The imprudence of Revd. Mr. Reid in employing such men & leaving them unpaid & without definite instructions, is inconceivable.

Jan. 12.

Rev. Mr. Mullon preached on the Epistle—I wish his sermons more connected & better prepared—facility alone will not do. In the evening, he gave an instruction on the 1st Com. respect pd to Saints, &c.—rather not argumentative—and too many hard truths and opprobrious epithets & odious comparisons to Protestants.

Call to orders.

In the evening, Rev. Messrs. Mullon, Deloughery and Thienpont met, at my request, in my room, to give me their conscientious opinion of the candidates of the Seminary, aspirants to the Holy Priesthood. (The Seminary is composed of the Following Members—M. M. Junker of Nancy (Diocese of) France—Conlan, Dillon, O'Mealy, O'Laughlin, *Allwill* (whom I refused to receive some years ago at Emmittsburg, and whom I will not suffer to remain here) Würtz, Mullon, McCallion, Young, Americus Warden—of these, Young, Mullon & War-

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den are Americans & least advanced, except McCallion, in their education—Conlan, Dillon & Allwill have recd Minor orders.)

After the invocation of the Holy Ghost & a warning of the responsibility under which they were placed—the conseqces to the Church, to Souls, to themselves of the result of such deliberations—*The Manus Nemini Cito imposueris* indirectly addressed to them, as it more directly was to Bishops (nos posuit Sp. *Stus.* &c. The following gentlemen were approved as per report. "Though Mr. Junker has not yet gone through a regular course of Theolog. studies, yet the situation of the German Congregation seems to require his advancement to the Priesthood. All concurred in testimony of his exemplary piety & excellent conduct.

Mr. Conlan was next approved for Subdeaconship—The same creditable testimony to his uniform piety and correct deportment was likewise rendered by all present.

Mr. Dillon was put off, for at least, one year, as he has been frequently seen overcome with liquor, had gone into the City with Revd. Mr. Cavanaugh, without leave & had given impertinent language to Revd. M. M. Mullon & others. I doubt very much whether I shall ever allow him to receive Holy Orders. He seems to me conceited & vain. Mr. O'Mealy was called to receive the Tonsure. 22d, 23d, Feb. 13th March 16th &c. were the days selected for the conferring of these orders &c... .. .. .. (indistinct)

13th Jan.

Mr. Dillon was very humble & willingly acknowledged the propriety of the course pursued in his regard. The others have signified to the Revd. Mast. Cerem. their submission & acquiescence in the views of their Eccles. Superiors. . . . This day I recd. a Letter from the ArchB. informing me that Revd. Messrs. Pise & Wainwright had obtained their exeats, the former receiving a salary from the Bishop of New York for conducting his Nyack College—the latter stationed at Pottsville, Pa.

Jan. 14.

This day Mr. Storer, our Lawyer, informed me that in order to remedy the numerous defects in the late Bishop's will, occasioned by Revd. Auth. Ganilh, it will be necessary to write to everyone of the heirs of Dr. Fenwick and obtain from each a release! This will be troublesome business indeed! God is All.

15

Began a few articles for the Telegraph—"*What is Truth.*" The Ohio which was nearly frozen over the other day, is said to have risen since yesterday Morn. nearly 20 feet—Sent Revd. Mr. Abell of Louisville 4 Doz. Catechisms & a roll of pictures today by Mr. Bulger, brother of deceased Priest of Morgan buried at Mt. St. M.

16.

Mrs. Williamson, mother of Adolphus, has presented the church a Com. Cloth which extends along the Rails of the Sanctuary—an Altar Cloth—and bought Stuff for a few Surplices for the Seminarians. Dined at Mr. O'Hara's today. The City Clerk paid me today, in Script, as they term it, 221 Doll

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instead of 260 due for the Engine House rent for one year. 15 per cent was charged for cashing his order—The corporation being deeply in debt & forbidden to take up more money on interest to pay the same!!!

17.

Two Seminarians, Patrick Rattigan & Langton, who had applied to me some years before for admission at Emburg, have just left the Sem. of the Barrens Missi. when their health was bad and apply again to me for adoption into this diocese. Have no means of support for them. Of 28 Seminarians last year at the Barrens, they say 22 have left it, mainly in conseqce of its being so unhealthy.

18.

It has been determined that Revd. Mr. Mullon go to New Orleans to prepare the ground for obtaining more scholars for the Athen, more subscribers for the Telegraph, coffee & sugar for the Orphans, and to see what Revd. James Reid is doing there—what money he has collected for his new school and church in Browne County which he has so indecently abandoned—This day I resolved that Kavanagh & his wife—a Widower & Widow lately married by a Squire, because I wd not let them be married without publication of Bans, or at least, a few days' previous notice of their intention, shd. come before the altar at 8 o'clock Mass, receive a reprimand & ask pardon of Alm. God & the Congn.—they agreed penitently and humbly. Revd. Mr. Mullon will carry the com. into effect tomorrow Morning.

19.

Published at High Mass that the Law of the Church requiring publication of the Bans between Parties intending to contract Marriage cannot be dispensed with when the Parties are unknown to the Pastors of the Cathedral &c. &c. See Telegraph of this time.

20.

Heard of dissatisfaction at Mt. St. M. news in a Letter from John Matthias to F. Meline—F. Meline & Mr. Mullon go to New Orleans in Mr. Byrne's boat, the *Hudson*, now in Louisville—Revd. Mr. M. starts from here in the *Michigan* to take the *Hudson* at L. Snow falling fast—River high & rapid.

21.

Servants leave at too short warning—High-minded here—Must have some from Emburg—told Miss Ann she May write for Betsy Bigha who is very anxious to come out—

22.

Wrote to Dr. I. Cook Bennett of Bloomfield who is, he says, anxious to embrace catholicity & devote his life to the preaching of the Gospel—Is a Married Man & has one Child— Female Elders & Tract—distributing sybils very busy in preventing the spread of popery in Cti. Think this place one of the Pope's strong castles. . . .

23.

Mr. Reids Bricklayer, Fawble, speaking ill of me thro Town. . . Revd.

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Mr. O'Canagh at the Theatre again! . . . Invited to attend the Dedication of the new Church in Pittsburg, in next April.

24.

Bigots growing fierce in their opposition to Popery—Brownler's Letter to the R. C. Bishops of the U. States! Cin. Journal—Why do not Catholics awake?—Such apathy in the ranks of our own Clergy is inconceivable—I know that prayer & Study & visiting the Sick is more meritorious and Commendable, but we must descend sometimes into the Plain & fight the Philistines with their own arms. The Henenanns, celebrated Musicians & Vocalists, in Town. probably will come to our church tomorrow—It is snowing hard.

25.

Visiting sick Miss Swift—receiving Letters & ans. have to teach Theol. & Philos. class in absence of Revd. Mr. Mullon. Will commence a Script class on Thursday, God willing. Understand that Dr. John C. Bennett with whom I have just been corresponding on the subject of Religion is a Bishop of the Methodist Sect. Politely invited to go see the picture of Temptation and expulsion of Adam & Eve now being exhibited in Cti.; am tempted myself to think it is all a hoax. heard from Emburgh.

26.

Began a course of instructions on the Decalogue. An unfortunate Irishman, crazy & what is worse drunk, as I fear, hallowed out in Church "& Martin Luther"—I "never minded him," until all was over.

27.

St. Mary's Seminary, Wash Cty., Ky., burned on the 3th Dec. 1838. this was the 4th time similar disasters occurred there!

Jan. 28th.

Writing a series of Articles "Fifty reasons 22." this vile tract has been taken to Mrs. Johnson & put in the hands of a good convert on Sunday as he left our church.

29.

Said Mass for Visitation Order. reminded of the day when I said Mass, in the Vestments of St. F. de Sales & the Nuns of Rue Neuve St. Etienne went to Com. Privileged & happy day! May I never forget the resolutions with which it then pleased God to inspire me. . . . Circus and 5 other Houses in this city & street, burned last night. Letters from Revd. E. Collins—doing well up at Dayton & Stollardstown. God prosper his Servant.

30.

Gave Revd. D. Deloughery a cloths press of which his room was destitute—had a few days before given Revd. Em. Thienpont a similar piece of furniture. . . . Heard shocking tales of Revd. Mr. Reid when he was in Brown City. Cannot credit them. He has not yet returned. . . . Gave F. Meline 5 Dollars more. He has been detained in Town—The *Hudson* was crippled, on her way from N. Orleans—Revd. Mr. Mullon was to have left Louisville on Monday, in the *Louisa*.—Florant goes in the *Superior* from this place, this evening.

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31.

Recd a Villainous Letter against Mr. Collins from a German—John Biekey, of Dayton. Sent him a suitable reply— a little child, Eliza M. Kramer, bound to me, at request of the Sisters—She is a *Methodist* as far as She knows—Amusing form of indenture. She is like Helen Pike. Mrs. McDermott's daughter who says she was Married by a Squire at Louisville to Bishop a Notorious Gambler and profligate, came to see me—Is tormented at the idea of her connexion with an *Infidel* who mocks at all religion & who regards no moral restraints—he has been divorced in New York, or Connecticut & is said publicly thro' this City to have had several children by different Women. (This girl's Mother is excessively ignorant—She lately did public penance for having got married by a squire, after I had refused to perform the ceremony in advent. She is a grand Mother & her husband is a —— & surely a simple Irishman.) *Mrs.* Bishop is looked upon by the people around as a kept *Mistress*.

Feb. 1.

Having some doubts of the correctness of a copy furnished from the Register's off. of the late Bishop's Will, I examined the record and found it is far from being as bad as I thought—the copy was, in fact, incorrect—for household's lots—it reads "houses and lots". This is a reprief——Mr. Storer is of his old Mind.

2d.

Preached before Mass on the blessing of the Candles and Presentation of our Lord. after Gospel, on the propriety of Subscribing for the Telegraph—abuse of Prot. Journals &c. &c.—and then on the *Word of God* at the usual time. Great distress in Town—Money brings 3 per cent, per Month—

3d.

Have many letters to write today—Schenhenss, N. D. Young, Bruté.

4.

Mother Rose, &c. &c. Mr (Vogeler Revd) is much to be pitied—He is subject to Most distressing Hallucinations. thinks the house shaky, the cook will poison him &c. I wish I cd. do something for So good a Man. 16 new Subscribers for Telegraph—I write "Spirit of Cti Journal."

Feb. 5.

Employed in looking for a house for the Sisters— will try and obtain one in *6th St.* It is offered at 4000 Dollars & is more convenient in every way, than the house of *Athens* in *5th* beyond the Market, which I went to see with Dr. Marshall—and for which 300 Doll. rent were asked—

6.

Taught a Scripture class today—will continue, please God, to do so—

7 & 8.

Mr. Henni of Canton asks leave to go to Europe—

9.

Mr. Ch. P. Montgomery asks direction as to interment of Non-Conformists with the Law of Pasch-Com. & the duties of Religion, in Catholic graveyards—and circumstances here will not admit of our strictly enforcing the dec. of W. C.

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of La. When *they called for a Priest*, let them be considered to have died in good dispositions & obtain Ch. burial. Publish Pastoral for Lent.

10.

Writing "Plain Reasons" & Conclusion of 'what is truth'?

11.

Revd. Mr. OCavanagh has left Town at length—Seemed to have no thought of repentance. His brother and Sister remain here—

12.

Preached at Blessed Ashes' distribution—Early hour—7—get a considerable crowd. . . .Instructing Mrs. Farman and Mrs. Delaplaine, at Mrs. Jaffs. Invited by Mr. McHenry & Misses Reilly to spend last Even. did not go—

13.

Script. class.

14.

Letter from Revd. Mr. Reid—Says he has just recd. My Letter— has about 1000 Doll. and will come back instanter. His printed french circular as curious a Specimen as his English one—

15.

Still busy in looking for a house for the Sisters—so hard to Suit them—There are Sundry Judgements on Dr. Gano's property in 6th St. which if I can get with a good tittle & for tolerable terms at this most depressed time, I will take. The Sisters could have their School in a House, the 'female Sem' lately kept by Mrs. Talent—and keep the orphans Separate from the others.

16.

Preached on Justice of God—as usual, left out Much—Mr. Rives & family in Church—Congn. very orderly—Spoke also of Catechism—in the Evening lectured on 1st Com. Suming up —and began the 2d.

17.

Went over to Mr. Bullocks'—a Visit to this enlightened Most plain good sense Englishman is always interesting & instructive—He was personally acquainted with Sturbide—Lord Clifford, Lady Blessington & all the first Men of the British Empire.

18.

Last night at 10½ had to go for Dr. Hermange for Sister Victoria who was taken suddenly sick—She ought to be sent home— It is thought she is imprudent in diet &c.—

19.

I have this day Signed an agreement with Dr. Gano to pay him for his house in 6th St., 1000 Doll. in 14 days, 1500 in 6 months & 1500 in 12 months from Day of Sale—

Feb. 20.

Many now, and especially Cassilly himself, telling me I cd. get property much cheaper—perhaps so—but why did he, unhappy man, place me under

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the necessity of Making such a bargain—why retract a gift? and threaten repeatedly and insultingly to turn Sisters & orphans out of doors?

20.

This day I had to reprimand V. before B. & Alpha. for having indulged to excess in a way to disgrace—a Lay girl observed it—I dined today at old Mr. Consedine's—Mr. (Dr.) Hermange accompanied me in a pleasant ramble, praying his expected son may one day be a Priest.—

21st.

Warm weather—Visit from Joseph Elder of Balte.

22d.

Tonsured Mr. Henry D. Juncker & Joseph OMealy—gave the instruction (at 7 oclock low Mass.) Conferred Minor Orders on Mr. Juncker—Mr. Montgomery arrived from New Orleans—left Mr. Reid at Louisville. Brought letters from Revd. Mr. Mullon who says Very Revd. Mr. LeBlanc will write to Me of Revd. Mr. Reid's conduct down there.

23.

Mr. Reid arrived. Mr. Blanc has written to me and said little against Mr. Reid—Mr. R.'s Agent, Hogan, of New Orleans, has written after throwing up his agency & recalling his Son. I have had a Most serious talk with him on all charges against him—My plans & Views conc. Brown County &c. and agreed to let him return thither to see how he will get on now. In New Orleans Revd. Mr. S. H. Motgy tells me Mr. Reid was not charged with any crime; but that he talked pompously to low people.

24.

Subdeaconship to M. M. Juncker & Conlan. I have resolved, all things considered, to keep Mr. Mtgomery in this house, where he is desirous, rather than willing to reside. He has been accused, justly or unjustly, of being too familiar with three Ladies (Mrs. D. Miss Talleton & Mrs. —— formerly Miss Baker—I believe him not guilty of More than indiscretion in these instances. His orders & He do not agree. He complains that he was not suffered to see the constitutions, when urged to take his Vows; that after 10 years he accidentally read and protested against them in their application to himself. that he was never happy in the Comty and that Bp. Rosati has written to Rome for an Act of Secularization for him. He is very popular, instructs well—is a good financier and has made many converts & built several Churches. It is a good pple to *gather* rather than *Scatter* resources— Writing for Telegraph—Leopoldine Association—50 reasons —&c. Letters; Classes—&c.—

25.

Sudden cold—Went with Revd. E. Deloughery to see Sus. Mullon who has the bilious fevre at Mrs. Harris Hotel—heard she was better . . .

26.

Birthday. 34 years! J. M. J.

Feb. 27.

May I begin a new life of fervor and holiness, O My God—and do Thou enable

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me to put an end to the distracted and wretched coldness of the State in which I have lived since I have been a Bishop. Gave 5 Doll. for a Brev. for Mr. Conlan. Resolved to ordain Mr. Juncker Deacon at the German Service, 4th Sunday of Lent.

28.

How many who should be Catholics, live in forgetfulness of God, or enticed away by heresy! So many little Children too who are perverted in conseqce of their parents' sending them to Presbyterian Schools. Must have a Male free School & go about more among the Catholics who stray from their Church—

March 1st.

Very cold—Visited the property on the hill—see it a Waste—only one or two Gallons of milk per day, pd. for that fine property & no pains taken with it. Must get another tenant than this poor Dutch family— Mr. Motgmy. went with me to see it. We agreed on the way, after much previous conversation, to undertake the Building of a German Church. Letters from Mr. Jamison—transferred to Mt. St. M!

March 2d.

Mr. Thienpont preached a good sermon today on Sin—Mr. Mtgy sang high Mass—took cup of tea at Mr. McHenry's in the Evening. Wish McHenry was a practical Catholic.

March 3d.

Heard from Emburg—"Il a passé bien de l'eau sous le pont," says good Mr. Bruté—Mr. Jamison has *given up*—Mr. Butler is now President and joint owner with Messrs Whelan & Sourin!—God prosper his Holy Cause, whomsoever He deigns to call to its defence. refer to letters of this Epoch.

4th.

Gen. Finley, Carneal, Dr. Drake coming in to see & exchange friendly assurances—Resolved to ordain Mr. Juncker Deacon at the German Service next

5.

Sunday—Letters from St. Joseph's directing Sr. Victoria to go to St. Louis by 1st oppty.

6.

Walked about Town with Mr. Mtgomery, looking for a convenient Site for a New Ger. Church—Have partly concluded that it shall be 120 by 60 feet. Hope to get ground at from 20 to 30$ per foot.

7.

Dr. Gano's property is so much encumbered with a Mortgage & Judgements to the Amount of upwards of 3000 Doll. that I shall not pay him a cent until All is clear.

8.

Writing a notice & remarks on Bishop Dubois' Pastoral—It is certainly a Most Singular production. We leave out what cd not by sound hearts or Minds be read with pleasure.

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9.

Lent Mr. Maurice Byrne 500 Doll. to help him out of his Share of the public embarrassment, until Tuesday. Dr. Gano finds it, I imagine, as much as he can do to get a release of the Judgements on his property. . . . got a Kind of chill today in little chapel—

March 9.

The Wall of the ditch around these premises fell in last night, loosened by the rain—it was wretchedly built—Mr. White should certainly pay for its repairs —75 Doll.—Gave Ann Knott 4 Doll.

10.

Ordained Mr. Juncker Deacon at the Ger. Service today—Mr. Vogeler preached. I lectured in the evening on Vows—reconnoitred ground for Germ. Church—They ask 75 Doll. per foot, for a fine lot 120 feet deep & 60 wide, on 4th St. not far from the Unitarian Church—took tea at Mr. Sayre's—He, I hope, will soon be a Cath. & his Sister-in-Law, Mrs. Burnham.

11.

Rode around the hill today on a rough trotting Pony—was accompanied by Mr. Mtgy.—called at Mr. Consedine's who Daughter Honora has been ill. . . . What Multitudes of unfortunate Irish people Married by Squires &c. and to bigamists. it is truly awful.—

12.

Revd. Mr. Mullon has returned from N. Orleans and in excellent health. He has brought 650 Doll. of which Some is for the Price of Board and tuition of Students in the Athenoum; Some for the Telegraph Subscription & Some for the orphans. He brought me a set of Vestments from N. Orl. Sent from Belgium & some Theolog. books—also a Bologna ed. of Rom. Breviary sent me by My Kind friend Revd. Mr. Jean-Jean.

13.

Plenty of news from Emburgh about the change—Mr. Butler's presidency &c. &c.——Sr. Victoria gone—

14.

Happy to learn that Charles Carroll's heirs have agreed to refer their Scandalous litigation to Arbitrators, and that Revd. Messrs. OBrien To have been released from the odious obligation of giving testimony—

15.

Mr. Thienpont has bought a house—I promised to provide provender—Dr. Price has not yet noticed My Note concerning the removal of Ann, his Ward, from the Asylum—She is subject to fits and Must leave there. Revd. Mr. Collins here— I gave him—all I cd. afford—20 Doll. —to pay his expenses up & down to & from Dayton—

16.

Mr. Juncker ordained Priest—Mr. Mtgy. preached—He had to tell the people twice he was very sick and scarcely able to proceed—Bishop Flaget lately wrote to deprive him of faculties in Covington, after 31st March, if Mr.

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Young did not agree to his living with me—It looks something as if there were pique, which perhaps, there is not, in this business. . . . We announced our determination to build a Germ. Church, today. Next week, I shall go round among the Germans, first, with Revd. Messrs. Vogeler and Mtgomery. God prosper the work for his own glory and our Salvation. Mr. Juncker gave Bened. with B. Sacrament—

17.

I preached the St. Patrick's Sermon to a full church at 11 oclock today—organ played, but Low Mass said by Revd. Mr. Mullon. All, thank God, passed quietly and orderly. Visiting Germans—Much pleased with them, so far.

18.

Subscribed 300 Doll. towards Germ. Church, Myself—Know not where I shall get them—Pd. Dr. John Gano 1000 Doll. on the Sisters' house—

19.

Wrote to Revd. Mr. Bruté to State my reasons why he shd. accept, if his Nomination by the Prov. Council, to the See of Vincennes, will be confirmed in Rome. The ArchBishop told him he was Nominated—Bishop Rosati informed Sr. Fanny that the ArchBishop is to have a Coadjutor!—I remember Bishop Fenwick observed in the Council "Let us Keep our own Secrets." Visited orphans today. they Sang "Holy Patron" and they have good right—

20.

Mrs. Dewitt has just heard from her brother Adolphus at the Propaganda. The Hoffmans of Balte. were in the Et. City when he wrote—No particular news. . . . Revd. Mr. Mullon having felt unhappy & looked so Since his return from N. Orl. has asked for his exeat, Stating as his reasons that his Sister (married) at Emburgh is in a state of beggary and Starvation; that Mrs. Harris, with whom his Sister now stays at the Broadway Hotel, is going to retire from it; as Mrs. Harris gives up the concern & that he Must therefore go to New Orl. where he can get a large Salary &c. &c. &c—This I cd not assent to—New Orleans is a Charnel-House—He might die there soon & then— Besides his real Motive, which I concluded is Mr. Mtgomery's living here, should not, any more than those I have stated, have any weight with a Priest. I refused the *exeat*— He acquiesced &c. &c—Mr. Darr, a Germ. in front Street, anxious to have a free Church, *i. e.*, No rented pews, but only a capitation cess for the support of priest & fabrique—could not consent to it—tho his Motives are good—He gave 50 Doll. for the erection of the Church as I wish it to be.

21.

Very cold today. Mr. Mtgomery an hour & ½ in crossing the River in Steam-ferry-boat. Wind high. River rising.

22.

Hearing confessions—cold—instructing converts—

23.

A French boy went to the railing of the Sanctuary today & recd Communion at Mr. Deloughery's Mass without having even been at confession. He thought

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that what he did was going to Confession and that Communion was something else! O Jesu! O Potestas, O Patientia!!

March 23.

Had a meeting of the Germans today, who subscribed liberally towards the erection of the contemplated church—offered good brick at 2.62 & 2.68 per 1000, to be put in the wall at the rate of 2.62½ and the Mortar (no loom) & hands all furnished by bricklayer—

24.

Looking out for an eligible lot for a Germ. Church. There are two in Court St., one at 40 Doll. and the other at 45 D. a foot. one 160 feet deep—the other 130— and one on 4th St. 180 feet deep at 60 Doll. a foot.

25.

Preached today at last Mass which I said—Mrs. Hanley, our organist's little son is very sick—She cd not play—her husband is in New Orleans—

26.

Repository made of 4 upright posts *like a bed*—Must have the plan, if God spare my health & life, &c changed next year. Tenebrae sung tolerably well.

27. I sang High Mass. Mr. Mullon preached—No connexion in his sermons—left church at 2¼ P. M. Many of the female Communicants looked quite exhausted—

28.

Preached a quasi passion Sermon.

29.

Sang Mass—blessed font &c—Shall leave this to be done by a Priest next year

30.

Sang H. Mass. Mr. Mullon preachcd—tea at Dr. Bonner's.

31.

German Meeting during H. Mass.

April 1st.

I had agreed to take Stite's lot on Court St. at 40 Doll. a foot & ordered the deed to be made; but he cd not get a Mortgage released—Have now to look out elsewhere—

2d.

Went with M. Cassilly and Moreland to look at Brick—Agreed to take it 300,000, from Ackly, at 2.50 per 1000, and he to give 20,000 in—and take pay as he can get it—

3d.

Have given the Brick-work to Joseph Fry, who will furnish Mortar, no loom, as above—

4th.

Dined at Mr. Bullock's, with Mr. Mtgomery and Mr. Cappinger—See letter of Bishop Dubois.

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5.

Confessions—looked at a lot belonging to Foot and Bonsel, in 5th St. not far from the Mound—May have to take 70 feet there by 200, at 3000 Doll. Its location is remote from most of the Germans—cd get a lot across the canal, for 25 Doll. a foot, but it is entirely too far away—

6th.

After the Benevolent Soc. Meeting, spoke of Subscription for the new church —Some little hesitancy on my part, as to the expediency & propriety of the Measure—The sum of 300 Doll. was subscribed by those present—

7.

Mr. Cassilly refused to Subscribe to the Church—and this man pretends to visit us and asks to go to confession—

8.

6 Sisters arrived with Dr. L. Smith on their way to N. Or. proceeded next day down the river. Lee Horsey Dead at Mt. St. Mary's.

9th.

I have written to Very Revd. W. McDonald of Kingston, N. C., to agree to his coming to live with us—He was the editor of the Catholic—an able paper—

10th.

Mr. Mullon still much discontented & as he has sent his Sister to Louisville, is anxious to follow her—talks very imprudently through town and too plainly shews his unreasonable dislike to Mr. Mtgomery—I have agreed to let him go if he persist in the same mind, at the end of June—We have closed the bargain with Foot and Bonsel. Mr. Thom. Reilly has declared himself unable to *Subscribe for the new church*. He has been very generous to the Sisters, to whom he gave, at one time, 200 Doll.

Bp. Rese' is expected here— Revd. Mr. Ganilh came to this City on H. Thursday & left it on Easter-Sunday, on his way to Louisville, without coming near the Church to *see God*, say Mass, or speak to me! Mr. Young seems offended at my taking Mr. Mtgy to live here. Mr. Vogeler, whose Mind has long been Vanishing, left us for New Orleans a few days ago & left poor Mr. Juncker responsibility & labors without end. Priests, Priests!

11th.

1836

April 26th, 1836.

After repeated efforts to procure a larger house, & more airy & healthy, for our Orphans, I closed a Contract with Mr. Cope, U. S. Bank Agent, for the large dwelling now occupied by Miss Beecher for a Boarding-School, and lot of 185 by 182 feet, for 15905 Dollars to be paid 1-5th in hand & the balance in four, equal, annual payments, with interest. There were 2370 dollars expended by the Bank on the repairs of the house last year. The title is said to be indisputable. Lawyer Chase would have purchased the property, so convinced was he of the soundness of the title, if he cd only be assured that he cd get the balance of the property immediately adjoining.

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SEMINARY RECEIPTS

Jan. 1852.		
21.	Revd. Maurice Howard	10.00
22.	Miss Mary E. Butler	5.00
22.	Revd. Mr. Kearney (by my brother)	30.00
22.	Revd. Josue M. Young.	10.00
March 2d.	Very Revd. St. Th. Badin	10.00
Mch. 6th	Henry Schurbrock	5.00
Nov. 9	Revd. Mr. Kraemer (I handed this the 15th to Revd. Mr. Whelan)	5.00
1853	Mrs. Anna Corr (life subscriber annually)	10.00
Jan. 5th		
April 24	St. Xavier's for Sem. (by F. Driscoll)	155.00
October 26th 1852	Money for St. Joseph's Asylum recd. by me.	
Oct. 26	From P. Rogers & another by him	50.00
Nov. 14	Ambrose White (Baltimore)	4.00
" 15	Mary & Eliz. Van Aschen	2.00
Dec. 28th	Dr. John McMechan	7.00
1853		
Jan.	Spalding & Geraldine (given to Revd. Mr. Whelan)	50.00
Jan. 6th	a friend (Mrs. Maggini)	5.00
" "	Terence Duffy	1.00
	1853	
Mch. 22	Mrs. (other) Philips	3.00
24	Mr. Philip Gallagher	20.00
April 2	Miss Mary & E. Van Aschen	2.00
5	by Revd. Mr. Wood, Revd. Mr. Meyer of Dayton	5.00

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Romance of Old Philadelphia. By John T. Faris, author of *Old Roads Out of Philadelphia*, joint author of *The Virgin Islands: Our New Possessions and the British Islands.* With frontispiece of color and 100 illustrations from original sources and photographs by Philip B. Wallace. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1918. Pp. 336. Price, $4.50 net.

Colonial Virginia, Its People and Customs. By Mary Newton Stanard, author of *The Dreamer—The Life-Story of Edgar Allen Poe* and *The Story of Bacon's Rebellion.* With 93 illustrations. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1917. Pp. 376.

"The genius of Romance has long since taken his hat," lamented the author of *Aguecheek* (now *My Unknown Chum*). He nevertheless mingled with his regret the consoling reflection that "it is a satisfaction to remember that such things were."

The things that were in Old Philadelphia form the topic-scheme of Mr. Faris's attractively illustrated book. His readers, unlike Aguecheek, will probably derive satisfaction from the realization that most of the things pictured by letterpress and illustration no longer are, although undoubtedly "such things were," in Philadelphia.

Even a cursory glance at the pages of *The Romance of Old Philadelphia* will serve to indicate to the reader that he has under his eyes not a history or even a story. The volume, covering the more than one hundred years that elapsed from the founding of Penn's green town to the close of the eighteenth century, is not technically a "romance." It is a series of unrelated chapters dealing with phases of life, social customs, mercantile peculiarities schools and schoolmasters, methods of travel, quaint postal facilities and the like, of the old city. Each chapter, however, pursues with a fair amount of chronological consecutiveness the topics it takes up for treatment. Thus we have accounts of the trials and hazards undergone by the early settlers in the ocean voyage from England to the sylvan paradise of Penn; the plans and methods of house-building and home-making; the beginnings of city government; glimpses of business life; social life and recreations; church customs; courtship and marriage, and the social

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amenities surrounding these. Each of these topics has its own chapter.

Where in all this is the "romance"? Perhaps we shall dimly sense some of its glamour when we read of the cave-dwellings of a few poor settlers; of the unpaved streets and miry footpaths into which the hapless pedestrian sank angle-deep, or the dust-laden winds of the dry days—this latter atmospheric effect being, however, no exclusive possession of the olden city—humbling the head with dust and ashes. And when we further read of noisome alleys, hut-like grog shops, the midnight revelry of negroes, the rare visits of pirates, the occasional outfitting of privateers, perhaps we shall catch imaginative glimpses of the romance that characterizes Pierce Egan's stories of Old London or the more classical narratives of Harrison Ainsworth. Meanwhile we must remember that Mr. Faris's book does not pretend to be a story or a collection of stories. It is historical writing, but what we get is not a narrative but a collection of *genre* pictures.

Let us look at one of the pictures: "Many of the first colonists were compelled to put up with rude cave houses, built in the sloping ground above the Delaware. . . . A bank formed the back of the house, while timbers were driven into the ground for the sides and the front. Earth was heaped against the side timbers, a door and a window or two were cut, and a roof of timbers covered with earth completed the whole. The window-aperture contained a sliding board which, when closed, shut out some of the cold as well as the light. Sometimes a bladder or isinglass was stretched across. Those who were able to display a small paned window were proud of the achievement and were looked on with envy by their neighbors" (p. 47).

We look back with (present) satisfaction at the things that *were*. As to the streets, we find Benjamin Franklin noting in his autobiography that "our city . . . had the disgrace of suffering those streets to remain long unpaved, and in wet weather the wheels of heavy carriages plowed them into a quagmire, so that it was difficult to cross them; and in dry weather the dust was offensive" (*The Romance*, p. 142). Things were in bad shape in some of the streets down to the close of the eighteenth century, and to this cause were attributed the many scourges of smallpox and fever, the worst of the yellow-fever visitations occurring in

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1793 and 1798. Perhaps Gertrude Atherton was not drawing upon her imagination when she described Chestnut Street, in the days of the Continental Congress: "It was a brilliant winter's day; drifts of snow hid the dead animals and the garbage in the streets; and all the world was out for Christmas shopping" (*The Conqueror*, p. 394). The yellow-fever followed hard upon this condition; Alexander Hamilton was stricken with the plague: "To the ordinary odors of carcasses and garbage were added those of vinegar, tar, nitre, garlic, and gunpowder . . . and the city confessed itself helpless, although it cleaned the streets." Thus Mrs. Atherton (*op. cit.* p. 421), with doubtless too much of truth. We are accordingly inclined to disagree with the romantic reflections of our friend Aguecheek.

There is, of course, a brighter side to the picture of Old Philadelphia—say, rather, there are many brighter sides. The cave-dwellings were comparatively few, the mansions were many, in the closing years of the seventeenth century. It was not long before the streets, albeit miry or dusty as the weather varied, formed a cheekerboard whose squares were lined with beautiful trees and dotted with substantial houses that screened pleasant gardens, while the marts of commerce flourished, Assembly balls herded their fastidious patrons, and dainty folk clad in rainbow fineries picked their dainty way through the mire to fashionable shops and elegant residences. Behind all this were the sober thought and the humdrum daily toil of thinkers and workers. And, after all, perhaps Ben Franklin's mind, practical and scientific in cast rather than artistic and poetical, was more offended by the mud than it was pleased by the greenery. Contemporaries do not perceive romantic elements in current events or any quaintness in the life into which they are born. A later generation may construe past conditions as quaint, and may throw around them the halo of romance. Perhaps this is the reason why an artist, Joseph Pennell, living a century after Franklin, found in his native town a rich source for illustrations of the quaint survivals of past days and could thus furnish Mrs. Pennell's *Our Philadelphia* with highly attractive sketches, happily marrying his pencil to her pen. Perhaps this is also the reason why, in a lecture delivered as recently as the month of March, 1919, he found much to condemn in the appearance of

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his loved city: "This city, as Penn planned it," he is reported to have said, "was verdant and beautiful. Now it is the most defiled and filthiest place on the face of the earth. I remember that, when I was a boy, this city was full of little streams that looked pretty but smelled bad. The streams are gone, but the bad smell is still there, produced by the dirty streets full of motor oil and garbage. And nothing looks pretty. You are talking here about reconstructing France, but you haven't enough brains to build a gutter to keep the streets clean." So does the *laudator temporis acti* revel in recollections of the things that were pleasing and remembers not the things that were offensive. But while his audience would still preserve, doubtless, a bourgeois preference for paved streets and underground drainage, they should not forget that the Philadelphia assailed by Franklin for its mire and dust was not exceptional in its day. In her *Life of Lincoln*, Ida Tarbell says of the National Capital itself in the year 1848: "The streets were unpaved, and their dust in summer and mud in winter are celebrated in every record of the period."

It was not the intention of Mr. Faris to rehearse the oft-told tale of Philadelphia's wholly enviable progress and splendid eminence. His purpose evidently was to make the reader intimately familiar with the varied phases of life in the olden city, and his method consists principally in extracting most abundantly from diaries and letters, many of which are still in manuscript and unedited, of the people whose life he depicts. His bibliography of two pages is of itself a most informing exhibit that has its own touches af quaintness in the mere titles quoted. He refuses of set purpose to avail himself of the great treasury of facts, anecdotes, illustrations, collected by Watson for his *Annals*. Neither does he refer to Scharf and Westcott, the most laborious historians of the city. His volume is intended to be a chatty companion for our leisure hours, somewhat unmethodically entertaining; and it succeeds in presenting to the reader a fairly graphic portrayal of the people and the place wherein they dwelt.

The volume contains nothing that is of peculiar interest to Catholics, and it may fairly be pointed out that the writer missed not a little of real romance in omitting mention of "Old St. Joseph's," St. Mary's and Holy Trinity Church. The legend of Evangeline would have brightened pages which, despite their

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alluring invitation held out in the word "romance," may prove quite dull reading, we fancy, to all but dyed-in-the-wool Philadelphians possessed of a peculiar turn for the "quaint" rather than the "romantic." For in truth the book deals with quaintness (which is, after all, a relative matter), and not with romance (which is a thing of universal appeal). As to the illustrations, all of them are good, and some of them (*e.g.*, pp. 174, 202, 231, 245, 278) are excellent.

As the book of Mr. Faris might with felicitous accuracy have exchanged the word "Romance" in its title for "Quaintness," so this latest volume from the historical pen of Mrs. Stanard might well have borne the title of *The Romance of Old Virginia.* For the story of the early colonization of that commonwealth abounds in exciting and colorful incidents with a background of highly varied pioneer activities. The contrasts in purpose, plan, personnel, and *matériel* between the settlements at Philadelphia and Jamestown are sharply distinctive. Quaintness (from the viewpoint of this twentieth century) may have characterized the early life of Philadelphia, but romance undoubtedly accompanied every step of the pioneers in Virginia. Penn's clarity of vision, honesty of purpose, and broad ideals of tolerance, combined with a high order of practical statesmanship, foretold an orderly, and therefore a sufficiently prosy, development of his province. His Green Town, founded on peaceful and honest principles, prospered peacefully and progressively without any well-nigh destructive or even gravely untoward crises. He made friends of the aborigines, paying them for the land which, by a legal fiction, was already his own. The mutual pact of good-will was not fortified with any oath—"the only treaty never sworn to and never broken." And so it happens that the early story of Philadelphia is fairly prosy. But the colonization of Virginia was a disorderly process, marked by lack of clear plan, of well-defined purpose, of practical foresight, of hardy and honest personnel, of a sense of tolerance, and largely of a sense even of the common decencies of life. Troubles with the Indian tribes were of course constant, rising at times to horrible massacres followed by still more horrible reprisals; and, mingled with the fevers native to the soil, there was the human fever for mythical stores of gold "a little further on" in the unexplored wilderness.

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The disastrous communism of labor followed by the drastic individualism of a slightly later day furnish forth incidents for romantic treatment. Meanwhile, what imagination is not touched by the episodes connected with such names as those of Captain John Smith, Powhatan, Pocahontas, Rolfe? The story is sketched by Mrs. Stanard in her first two chapters (pp. 1–77).

The volumes of Mr. Faris and Mrs. Stanard agree in general plan. In both we find a fairly consecutive narrative of the beginnings, the story of Philadelphia by the former devoting thereto the first three chapters. The remaining chapters in either volume are not closely interrelated. Mrs. Stanard takes in succession these topics: household goods (furniture, plate); social life (the home, hospitality, festivities, gaming, taverns, fairs, etc.); courtship and marriage; dress and jewels; the intercourse between Virginia and England; the theater; outdoor sports; education (free schools, private schools, tutors, William and Mary College, studying abroad); books; music; pictures; religion; funeral customs. There is an index of 24 pages. The many illustrations are attractive and beautifully executed, and the book is a fine product of the publisher's art.

The two volumes we are reviewing will appeal almost exclusively, no doubt, to the interest of the localities severally covered by them. In their very nature they are peculiarly local, and insensibly (and mostly by indirection) will be eulogistic or apologetic in character. Accordingly the outlook may not always be as broad as "the general reader" might desire. Mrs. Stanard, for instance, begins her work with this statement: "Three hundred years ago, as every school child knows, European civilization was already comparatively ripe. . . . But America was still a wilderness—its only roads the trail of the Indian . . . its only sign of human habitation clusters of bark huts and such patches of corn, beans, and tobacco as savages were able to cultivate by scratching the ground with the most primitive implements of wood and stone." And so civilization began in "America" with the advent of the Jamestown pioneers. But "America" is rather a large term and inevitably makes us think of the Spanish colonizers, not to speak of the Portuguese and the French. Even "North America" would be too large a term. "The United States" would convey a still smaller territorial

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picture to the mind and yet remain too large a term, for Florida and New Mexico would utter a historical protest. "The English Colonies" in America would be more satisfactory as a background of territory for the settlement at Jamestown and would remind the reader that the English were notably late and remiss in the colonization of "America." It may not be unwise to insist upon such elementary points of accuracy, in view of the fact that an official weekly of one of our universities recently made the foolish boast that its medical school was the first one organized in America. There was no apparent misunderstanding of the term "America," for when the present reviewer called the editor's attention to the fact that there were Spanish medical colleges in "America" nearly two centuries earlier than the one in question, the editor declared that he had consulted some of the professors in his medical school and that they considered the matter of priority doubtful!

Again, there is perhaps too much stress (for "the general reader") laid upon the "gentlemen" settlers at Jamestown in Mrs. Stanard's book. The word is, however, not hers, but that af contemporary records or chronicles, and Mrs. Stanard accordingly puts it, very properly, in quotation-marks. In view of the delicate character of the subject, the fifty long pages devoted to it seem almost to challenge the vitriolic rhetoric of those whose Northern sensibilities are irritated by any reference to the F. F. V.'s. Mrs. Stanard does not mention James Russell Lowell's classical analysis in *The Bigelow Papers* (Second Series, No. III), but nevertheless quotes from Governor Berkeley's *Discourse and View of Virginia* (1663): "Another great imputation lyes on the Country that none but those af the meanest quality and corruptest lives go thither. . . . But this is not all true, for men of as good families as any subjects in England have resided there . . .," and Berkeley goes on to mention some of these and to refer vaguely to "a hundred others, which I forbear to name." Upon this, Mrs. Stanard comments fairly enough: "There is no doubt that the 'imputation' referred to by Berkeley was long prevalent in England. It probably arose, in part, from the exportation of convicts, but chiefly from the infamous system of kidnapping so widely spread there" (p. 50).

The chapter on "Religion" (pp. 320–340) does not even men-

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tion the word Catholic, although Colonial Virginia enacted special and very severe laws against Catholics. Quakers, Presbyterians, and "dissenters" in general receive fair notice. The author deems it "a subject of gratification to Virginians that, though there was in the colony much irritating and troublesome persecution in the way of fines, and some banishments and imprisonments, no one was ever put to death within its borders for either religious views or witchcraft, nor with the exception of some whippings—not many apparently—and where witchcraft was the charge, a few duckings, were such offenders made to submit to corporal punishment."

The author puts clearly, in her Preface, the purpose of a work such as she has undertaken: "How may we call to life the everyday men and women of other times, obtain glimpses of them in their homes, going about their business or pursuing pleasure, know them as they were known to their families and neighbors? Not by reading history. . . . A gossipy letter, though crumbling and yellow, telling what company the writer had for dinner and what there was to eat, the jokes that were cracked and healths drunk; a fragment of a diary giving the neighborhood news, the condition of the crops or the latest political excitement; a tailor's or a milliner's bill; a will; an inventory; a court record of a lawsuit or a trial, will make a bygone day more real than volumes of history." Virginia, she assures us, "is rich in this graphic kind of material," in spite of "the lamentable destruction of early records." For there still remain many colonial county records, collections of family papers, quaint newspapers and pamphlets, privately published and other somewhat (relatively) inaccessible books, and upon such scattered and fragmentary sources she has drawn to furnish forth a stately and carefully compiled volume.

. HUGH T. HENRY, LITT.D.

De Geschiedenis Van Het Amerikannsche Volk. By Arthur Meijer. Bewerkt door. H. H. Langereis, Grand Rapids, Mich., 1915.

This small volume of two hundred pages is an attempt to interpret the History of the United States for the Holland people. The text is divided into twenty-eight short chapters

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that give not only a chronicle of political and military events, but also try to sketch in broadest outlines the social and religious life of the inhabitants of the country, of the Indians as well as of the European settlers. Half of the text is apportioned to colonial history, including the making of the United States, and the other half sketches the history of the country from that time till 1912. The narrative is generally as satisfactory as can be expected when such a large subject is compressed within such a narrow space. Under the circumstances, it is a little surprising to find four preliminary chapters before the actual settlement of the thirteen colonies is taken in hand. Yet there is no attempt to give the European background to American colonization. The first two chapters accept the traditional view of the precolumbian idea of the world and of the project and work of Columbus himself. This view has been seriously challenged in the conclusions reached in his researches by Henri Vignaud in his three volumes, *Histoire Critique de la Grande Entreprise de Christophe Colomb*, and *Études Critiques sur la Vie de Colomb*. It is to be regretted that the work has been printed on the cheapest of paper.

F. ZWIERLEIN.

New England and The Bavarian Illuminati. By Vernon Stauffer, Ph.D., Dean and Professor of New Testament and Church History, Hiram College, Ohio. Vol. lxxxii of *Studies in History, Economics and Public Law* edited by the faculty of Political Science, Columbia University. New York: Columbia University Press, 1918. Pp. 360.

This is a very interesting and a very suggestive study in a comparatively neglected field of American history. The reason for this neglect is, perhaps, not hard to fathom. The bitterly anti-Masonic attitude of the American public at the close of the eighteenth century is at once a difficult and a delicate question. It is difficult, for it is hard to trace the political workings of secret societies; the sources are biased and unreliable, designedly ambiguous and misleading. It is delicate, for Freemasonry, with its ramifications, has become warp and woof of the political and social fabric of America.

The close of the eighteenth century witnessed a strange ferment, both social and religious, in New England life. This un-

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rest was not confined to New England, but it was in such marked contrast to the white light of Puritan theocracy that it was like a dark thunder cloud to the New England prophets. This ferment was a natural consequence of the first enthusiasm with which America received the news of the French Revolution and the birth of a sister republic. The disorders in France were at first excused as the throes of the death agony of the monarchy and the pains of parturition accompanying the birth of the new republic. That was until fuller reports of the excesses of the revolution and its violently anti-religious tendencies reached New England. Then the prophets became alarmed, especially when they saw the Jacobin clubs established in their midst. They saw now, not a mere revolution but a world-wide conspiracy to overthrow religion and government. This was the work of the secret societies. They hesitated, at first, to attribute the conspiracy to the Masons of English antecedents, but sought to lay the blame on the influence of the Bavarian Illuminati, a Masonic society of German origin.

Professor Stauffer succeeds in proving an historical alibi for the Illuminati, at least as an organization. They had ceased to exist as a society in 1789, and therefore they did not, and could not, cause the aforesaid social disturbances. One naturally asks, then, why perfectly reputable people have consistently believed in the sinister influence of the Bavarian Illuminati on early American politics. Professor Stauffer, however, absolves the Illuminati—adduces sufficient cause for the agitation, and sends the Freemasons on their way with his blessing.

The main points of his thesis the author proves very satisfactorily and with considerable skill. Wide, painstaking research and a high degree of analytic power are evinced by the long list of books, pamphlets and newspapers consulted, and by the judicious use which the author generally makes of his researches. It is to be regretted, however, that in one important chapter he was obliged to rely so much upon the work of previous investigators, apparently not so competent as he. But of this, more anon.

"The development of this thesis," says Professor Stauffer in his introduction, "calls for an evaluation of the more significant elements and forces, which gave to the period the characteristic

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temper of nervous excitability by which it was stamped." In the first chapter, consequently, the author depicts from original sources the religious and social phenomena which marked the decline and fall of the Puritanic theocratic ideals of gloom and intolerance. The clerical pamphleteers of the time bewail in turgid periods the growing looseness of morals, the popular discontent with the union of church and state, and the alarming growth of scepticism, rationalism, and even atheism.

As a complement to the first chapter, the second, entitled "Political Entanglements and Hysteria," informs us of the civic unrest and commotion, which told that the ferment of the French Revolution was at work among the masses. The French Revolution was, indeed, the all-absorbing topic of the day. Political parties became divided, and popular excitement was greatly increased by the arrival of Citizen Genet and the concomitant rise of numerous "self-created" democratic societies, particularly in New England. Around these societies centers the dispute. What was the power behind them? What was the spirit that inspired them?

The author does not immediately gratify our curiosity. We quote a few words that aptly sum up his evaluation:

"With the European situation to lend strong emphasis to the suggestion of sinister tendencies and secret combinations, it cannot be thought extraordinary that here in America, where traditional opinions and institutions were as certainly being undermined, the conviction should take root that beneath all this commotion over foreign and domestic policies, secret forces must be at work, perfecting organizations, promoting conspiracies, and ready at any hour to leap forth into the light to throttle government and order."

Well-entrenched tradition has asserted that the secret force responsible for the New England disturbances was the Bavarian Society of the Illuminati. In the third chapter, therefore, the author discusses the life of Adam Weishaupt, founder of the Illuminati. He shows how, after "an educational experience which had made him a passionate enemy of clericalism, Weishaupt, Professor of Law at the University of Ingoldstadt, arrived at the conclusion that a general offensive against the clerical party ought immediately to be undertaken . . . to overthrow

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the forces of superstition and error." He would found a model secret organization, "comprising 'schools of wisdom,' . . . wherein those truths, which the folly and egotism of priests banned from the public chairs of education, might be taught with perfect freedom to susceptible youths." On May 1, 1776, the organization was founded. Under Weishaupt's sole domination, the Order was stagnant. With the accession, however, of Baron Knigge, a Freemason of high degree, progress resulted, and eventually an alliance with Freemasonry was effected. Internal dissension, the scandalous lives of the leaders, and political intrigues brought about suppression at the hands of the Bavarian Government. On August 16, 1787, the Duke of Bavaria "launched his third and last edict against the system. The measures taken against the Order in Bavaria effectually counteracted and destroyed its activity in other countries." This, on the authority of Professor Stauffer.

Having disposed thus of the true history of the Order, the professor addresses himself to its false history in a chapter which he entitles "The Legend of the Order." He examines two books which are the sources of accusations against the Illuminati—one by John Robison, an English savant and Freemason, *Proofs of a Conspiracy against all the Religions and Governments of Europe carried on in the Secret Meetings of the Freemasons, Illuminati, and Reading Societies;* the other by the Jesuit, Abbé Baruel, an émigré priest, *Memoirs of Jacobinism.* Many statements of both authors, anent the matter of the Illuminati, succumb before Professor Stauffer's scientific onslaughts.

But the methods of modern critical history were unknown in the days of which this study treats. The old school was more rhetorical than critical. These particular books were sensational. They were sold; they were read—especially by conservative folk. They found their way from Europe to New England; and here we have the solution of the whole affair—they fell into the hands of the vigilant watchmen on the housetops of Israel. A copy of Robison's book inspired the Reverend Jedediah Morse of Charlestown. This worthy divine, father of the famous Samuel Morse, had been greatly perturbed by the unrest everywhere about him, by the recent formation of secret societies, by the heated controversy over America's attitude toward France. He had

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viewed with dismay the rise of Liberalism, and the spirit of secularism. The excesses of the French Revolution had brought horror to his soul—and here was Robison's work, affording splendid material for a pulpit exposé.

He read. He believed. "On the morning of May 9, 1798, and on the afternoon of the same day, in his own pulpit . . . the Reverend Jedediah Morse proclaimed the fact that a pernicious society, called the Illuminati, subversive of law, order and religion, had its branches established and its emissaries at work in America. The Jacobins in France were the open manifestation of the hidden system of the Illuminati. . . ."

Public attention was drawn to the statements. The newspapers commented on it. Morse was called to account and required to submit proofs. The proofs advanced by him were insufficient, inept; but the Bavarian Illuminati, from that time, were doomed to bear an unsavory reputation for complicity in the social upheavals of New England. Thus reasons Professor Stauffer.

The Illuminati, beyond doubt, were dead and gone. They had, once upon a time, however, concluded an alliance with the Masons. The connection had been mentioned in the controversy following the sermon, so that the odium attached to the name "Illuminati" had, in a measure, fallen upon the Freemasons of America. Professor Stauffer, therefore, proceeds to exonerate them from all suspicion, but not with very notable success, in the face of authorities like John Quincy Adams, second President of the United States.

The legend of the Illuminati is nearly finished. One more stage, and the author is done. Their name finally appears as an epithet to be bandied about by political rivals—"a term for politicians to conjure with." *Reductio ad absurdum*, with a vengeance! And so ends the book!

There is much to commend in Professor Stauffer's book. One chapter, however, is very disappointing, the third, entitled, "History of the European Order of the Illuminati." In this it is all too evident that Professor Stauffer has used prejudiced authorities. He did not dip his pen into the venom of religious bigotry, perhaps, but he forgot to wipe the pen that others had used before him. We could wish that he had not followed Fores-

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tier[1] so implicitly, in believing the "Jesuit Legend," namely, that the Jesuits, after their suppression, attempted to join the secret societies extant, in order to use them for Jesuitical designs. There is far less historical ground for this fable than for the "Legend of the Illuminati," which he scientifically rejects. He has avoided Scylla and fallen into Charybdis. Throughout the chapter, a noted antipathy to the Society of Jesus is evident, in sundry unmistakable innuendoes. Nor is this all. The usual time-worn insinuations, accomplished chiefly by discriminating epithets, are all found in the armory of the Professor from Hiram College . . . "the forces of Clericalism . . . Sacerdotalism . . . quenching of originality . . . and intellectual stagnation due to ecclesiastical domination"—these and other damaging phrases, supported by copious footnotes in French and German, show the need of the apology which the professor makes in his preface for his almost exclusive use of one authority for this chapter. *C'est la guerre!* One cannot refrain from giving the most offensive example:

"Following the suppression of the Jesuits in 1773, members of that Order in considerable numbers, attracted by the rapid growth and pretentious occultism of the Rosicrucians, had united with the latter system." Shades of Christian Rosenkreuz and Hermes Trismegistus! What an alliance! We would like to hear more of the Jesuits, Frank and Stadler, the villains of the drama. Sources, sources, Professor! Your proof of this part of your thesis is a bit weak!

Technically Professor Stauffer has proved his thesis. However, one lays down the book convinced that while the Illuminati, *qua* organization, did not have the effect on American politics attributed to it, *qua* crystallization of the Zeitgeist, it changed the whole trend of continental Freemasonry and gave to it its secularizing and anticlerical policy. The soul of the Illuminati survived the death of the body. It animated the French Revolution, and, via France, came to America. Before this period New England was theocratic. Since then it has been secularist—almost anti-clerical—in its public policy.

JOSEPH A. MURPHY, D.D.

[1] FORESTIER. *Les Illuminés de Bavière et la Franc-Maçonnerie allemande.*

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The Present Conflict of Ideals; A Study of the Philosophical Background of the World War. By Ralph Barton Perry, Professor of Philosophy in Harvard University. Pp. 549. New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1918.

The present volume, from the pen of the Professor of Philosophy at Harvard, embodies a course of lectures delivered by him at the University of California during the spring of 1918. The first and larger part of the work is a survey of the various philosophic tendencies of the day in their "moral, emotional, political and religious implications" and is designed to serve as a companion volume to the earlier work of the author, "Present Philosophic Tendencies," published in 1912. The second part of the book "attempts to relate these tendencies to the conflicting national ideals of the present war" To this end, after a consideration of the principle of nationality, the author undertakes the difficult task of analyzing and comparing the German, French, English and American national traits, characteristics of thought as well as their distinctive political, social and religious ideals. All this was inspired chiefly by the desire to bring out more clearly the deeper issues underlying the World War and to make more manifest the cause of the Allies. The author's analysis of the conflicting national traits is very suggestive and has much to commend it. There will be many no doubt who will not be disposed to accept as final his conclusions on this delicate subject, representing as they do what is to a large degree a personal estimate. After making due allowances for this fact, the views expressed will be found at any rate very interesting and worthy of consideration since they are clearly the result of wide reading, close observation and deep penetration on the part of the author.

The study of the moral and religious implications found in our present day philosophic tendencies, treated in the first part of the work and comprising three hundred and eighty pages of the whole, will be found more valuable and of more enduring interest. It is well written, the style is easy and clear, devoid of technicalities and involved argument. The author limits himself to the objective exposition and application of the tendencies he discusses to the questions of religion and morality, and does not in the present volume attempt to sift or refute the arguments by which their positions might be justified. The standpoint of the author is stated in the Introduction, "That which is tradi-

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tional and established, common to modern European Christendom, I take as sea-level, from which to measure the heights and depths; or as the normal temperature by which to judge the chills and fevers of reaction and innovation" (p. 8). Following the lines laid down in the "Present Philosophic Tendencies," the main tendencies of the age are reduced to four: naturalism, idealism, pragmatism and realism. The moral ideals which spring from these are discussed in turn with keen penetration and powers of logic. The discussion on naturalism, "the mightiest tendency of the day," is particularly well done. By this term the author understands "such philosophy as grows directly out of the methods or results of the physical sciences." Its four-fold manifestations are shown to include the various forms of material metaphysics, based upon "a corporeal and mechanical view of reality"; the scientific method adopted "as a creed and code"; the numerous sociological theories, which follow the application of materialism and the scientific method to the life of man and the consequent "Discovery of Society"; finally the moral and religious effects of the extension of the biological principles of evolution to the whole field of human life Under these headings there are timely discussions on Positivism, Utilitarianism, the Ethics of Spencer, the Ethics of Darwinism, the Nietzschlian doctrine of the Superman, and the popular democratic and humanitarian theories of the day. An entire chapter is given over to socialism and the ethical implications of Economic Determinism, the fundamental doctrine of Scientific Socialism, and the opposition of the movement to religion are properly emphasized. The clear exposition of its attitude to religion and morality is all the more timely in view of the fact noted by the author that "socialism is the most powerful disturbing and innovating agency abroad in the world today" (p. 87).

Under idealism, "the philosophy which proclaims the ascendancy or priority of the world of consciousness over the world of bodies" (p. 8), the author first discusses the views which spring from the established moral and religious beliefs. Then, theism, voluntarism, Kantian ethics and the systems derived therefrom are considered. The influence exercised by the philosophy of Kant, Fichte and Hegel in the development of the prevailing German theory of the functions of the state forms the theme of a distinct chapter on "The Absolutist Conception of the

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State." Speaking on the attitude of personal idea'ism toward the problem of evil, the author gives evidence of an altogether wrong conception of "common-sense" Christianity when he makes the statement, "personal idealism, like 'common-sense' Christianity, holds to the goodness of God, and is correspondingly doubtful about His omnipotence" (p. 215). On the contrary, while acknowledging the difficulties presented by the problem, common-sense Christianity proclaims both goodness and omnipotence to be necessary attributes of the Supreme Being, and realizes well that any other view of the matter would destroy our notion of God and would be opposed to the dictate of sound reason.

The section on pragmatism considers the effects of its assaults upon reason, and includes a discussion of the principles of James and Dewey and an outline of the Practical Philosophy of Bergson. The brief exposition of the relation of Modernism to the truths of religion will be found of interest to Catholics.

The first part of the work concludes with a study of the ideals which are derived from realism for which the author hopes much in the days to come. The writer is himself a realist, or, more properly speaking, he belongs to the narrower circle of those who distinguish themselves from the followers of Platonic realism by the title new or neo-Realists. The teachings of this school are based upon the three principles: "factual independence," "externality of relations," and "immanence of consciousness." Of these the most important is factual independence, or the recognition that "the object of knowledge is always some fact that stands there independently of the knowing of it" (p. 364). This "common-sense" view of the matter, it is needless to say, is new only in name. The same may be said in truth of most of the "discoveries" of neo-realism, which are really worth while. For years they have been taught, under other names perhaps, in our schools, and will be found incorporated in that traditional philosophy which has developed from the principles of Aristotle, and as corrected, perfected and completed by the Schoolmen is generally known as Scholasticism or in its modern rëstatement as Neo-Scholasticism. It is this philosophy which, by reason of its truth, coherence and systematic unity, merits prëeminently the name of philosophy. About its claims the author is silent; nor does it receive any

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mention among the philosophic tendencies of the day. One might expect at least a statement of the philosophy of the great Mercier, who did so much to bring out clearly the moral issues underlying the war. The explanation can only be that the author is unacquainted with the real meaning of this philosophy. His few references to it betray this fact. Had he examined at close range the teachings of Scholasticism, in his account in the chapter on "French Thought" of the growth of the new idealism in France, he would not have made the statement: "In philosophy proper it is pragmatism instead of intellectualism; in the churches, it is the 'new apologetic' based on history and experience, in place of scholasticism and papal infallibility" (p. 457).

After a reading of the moral ideals presented by the tendencies discussed in the present volume one is impressed by their vagueness, uncertainty and inadequacy. One appreciates all the more in consequence the value of Catholic Philosophy, which in completeness, thoroughness and certainty of conviction stands alone. No other philosophy in fact can give so satisfactory an answer to the questions of religion and morality, and so adequately appease the cravings and justify the hopes of the human heart. It is this discovery, the result of an intellectual conviction, which has led so many in recent years, after many wanderings in barren pastures, to enter the Church, and has brought about among the literary leaders of France a reaction in favor of the Catholic Religion. The author misses the point altogether and fails to grasp the true significance of this movement when, without any distinctions, he attributes the return of Bourget, for instance, to the Church to the craving of a jaded appetite for new sensations. I quote the passage: "The psychologues go to prison, or go mad, or even get religion in order to find new pastures where their jaded sensibilities may still be quickened. When new things are exhausted, old and forgotten things must be revived. Hence the return to mediaevalism and Romanism by writers such as Huysmans, Bourget and Barrés" (p. 73).

Despite these occasional lapses, however, the work as a whole is a very worthy one, and will be found useful as a supplement to the history of philosophy or as an introduction to the study of modern ethics.

JOSEPH A. HICKEY, O.S.A., D.D.

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Historic Mackinac. The Historical, Picturesque and Legendary Features of the Mackinac Country. Illustrated from sketches, drawings, maps and photographs, with an original map of Mackinac Island, made especially for this work. By Edwin O. Wood, LL.D., formerly President Michigan Historical Commission, Vice-President of the Mackinac Island State Park Commission, Trustee of the Michigan Pioneer and Historical Society. . . . In two volumes. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1918.

The two beautiful volumes comprise 1,500 pages of letterpress in addition to 125 pages of illustrations. A happy division of the work into two volumes assigns to Volume I the technically historical treatment of the subject, and to Volume II a wonderfully rich selection from the romantic, descriptive and legendary literature that has grown up around Mackinac Island.

The author speaks of his achievement as a "labor of love" and modestly declares that it makes "no claim to rank with the achievements of historians." Yet his labor of love extended through years of patient, zealous and discriminating toil—a toil made feasible largely through his official positions relating to the territory and the history of the Mackinac country, made vivid and attractive by many summers spent on the Island, and made copiously fruitful by his facile consultation of an extensive collection of books of travel, fiction, history, legendary lore, maps of the Great Lakes region, which he had been making for some years. His bibliography covers sixty pages, and the Index as many columns.

The first volume is not a history in the technical sense, and yet is in some respects better than such a history. It is almost "a historians' history"—not indeed of the world, but—of Mackinac Island. The *Jesuit Relations* is the most frequently quoted source, and the many excerpts from that stately series of volumes are highly interesting and informative, valuable alike for their supreme quality as original sources of history and for their attractive literary form. But the author of *Historic Mackinac*, weaving into his narrative a large number of selections from most varied sources, "new and old" (like the prudent householder of the Gospels), and often adding thus pleasantly piquant touches to the tale, finds it possible also to make the justified claim that many items are taken from books long since out of print, and

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therefore not readily available to the casual reader. But books —especially pamphlets—not long out of print, are often fairly inaccessible to the casual reader. Dr. Wood devotes a whole chapter to excerpts from a monograph by Judge Brown, and tells us in a footnote (I, 90) that "the quotations in this chapter are taken from a reprint which does *not bear date and place of publication. The Parish Register of the Mission of Michilimackinac* forms the second part of the pamphlet, and begins at page 29, the author being Judge Edward Osgood Brown, a noted jurist and eminent scholar, of Chicago, Illinois, who is a recognized authority upon the history of the Mackinac country." The phrase upon which the reviewer has ventured to confer italics is quite significant to the librarian and the bibliographer, both of whom have their own troubles with housing and indexing pamphlets; and the casual reader is in still greater danger of missing Judge Brown's charming and most illuminating monograph. We thank Dr. Wood for enshrining so much of it within a stately volume and thus ensuring it a long life and a wider circle of admirers. For if ever a deft inspirational touch could make the dust of centuries glow with actuality, could ever articulate anew the dead bones of the past into a living and breathing frame, that is the miracle performed by Judge Brown with the *Parish Register*. Read the chapter—having always in mind the normally forbidding and dry-as-dust character of a parish register—and pronounce just judgment! One quotation from it may be permitted here (p. 99): "There is another matter to which I think the register bears interesting testimony. It has been a too common opinion, springing from prejudice against the Church, that the Catholic missionaries' apparent success among the Indians arose from their taking them into the Church without sufficiently instructing them. I think Parkman even allows himself somewhere to speak of the Catholic missionary contenting himself with sprinkling a few drops of water upon the forehead of his savage proselyte, while the Protestants tried to win him from his barbarism and prepare his savage heart for the truths of Christianity. There is absolutely no truth in this, and no evidence has ever been cited for it. And this register, like all the missionary registers, is affirmative proof of its falsity." The Judge develops this affirmative proof through several pages of citation from the register.

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Although Dr. Wood thus extracts copiously from a multitude of writers, he nevertheless tells the story himself in an attractive and, despite occasional digressions made to illustrate some particular phase of ethnology or chronology, in a fairly consecutive manner. He furnishes a skilful setting, and not merely a literary cement, for a rich mosaic whose separate fragments have been taken from the works of other men of most varied minds and literary styles.

Mackinac history is somewhat like the biography of an important statesman. The Island, like the man, becomes a little stage for a great drama of history; for the story of Mackinac, like the life of a great man, touches many wide and diversified interests and activities and thus becomes a cross-section of history. The intrigues of European diplomacy have their repercussions in America. "In order," said Macaulay, "that Frederick the Great might rob a neighbor whom he had promised to defend, black men fought on the coast of Coromandel and red men scalped each other by the Great Lakes of North America." And events of world-wide significance, signalized by names that breathe of romance and wild adventuring into the aboriginal wildernesses, occurred in the Mackinac country under the successive flags of France, England, and the United States. The complete story even of this small stage of Mackinac Island is entrancing at once and greatly informative.

Dr. Wood has conferred something of an encyclopedic scope upon his two volumes. The first, for instance, incorporates the exhaustive treatise of Monsignor O'Brien on the names of places of interest on the Island (I. 507–606). Dr. Wood dedicates his work to Monsignor O'Brien in terms of warmest appreciation. This volume also contains (pp. 379–429) an account of the churches on the Island as well as a chronology (pp. 681–697) from 1534 to 1918. Similarly, the second volume includes treatises on the Indian names in the Mackinac country (pp. 624–640) and on the flowering plants, ferns and their allies of the Island (pp. 641–678), although its main purpose was "to bring together and preserve for the reader of today and in years to come, some of the graphic descriptions given by celebrated travelers who visited the Island many years ago. To this end, Volume II is largely a collection of

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extracts from books long since out of print, all of which will ever hold an important place in the story of 'The Fairy Isle.'"

The printing is excellently done. If there be misprints, the reviewer has failed to observe them. Attention may be directed, however, to an obvious slip of the pen: "Nearly three hundred years ago Jacques Cartier . . . was commissioned . . . to find a passage-way through the newly discovered lands to the Golden West. In 1535 he reached the site of Montreal . . ." The reader will see immediately that "three hundred" should be "four hundred."

There are some unnecessary repetitions which, however, are easily pardonable in a work of this kind; *e. g.*, Father Dablon's account of the Mission of St. Ignace is quoted extensively (I, 17–21) and is repeated in indirect narration (p. 25 *seq.*).

The Appendix of highly interesting documents (I, 609, 676) would have proved additionally valuable if references were made to it in appropriate portions of the text. And if, whensoever an Indian word or name appeared in the text for the first time, a reference were forthwith given to the enlightening chapter on "Indian Names in the Mackinac Country" (II, 624–640), the reader would be spared some futile cogitation and perplexity; *e.g.*, with respect to the meaning of "Michilimackinac," the identity of the Chippewas and Ojibways, the transliteration of Outaouacs into Ottawas, and the like. For he may well be puzzled as he reads such explanations as these respecting Michilimackinac: "The Indians were attracted to the Island waters especially by the abundance of fish . . . 'This spot is the most noted in all these regions for its abundance of fish,' says Dablon, 'since, *in savage parlance*, this is its native country. . . .' Indeed, these waters contained fish not common to all the region" (I, 25, 26). We have italicized Father Dablon's phrase, as it seems to furnish the meaning of the word *Michilimackinac* as the native haunts of the fish. The same meaning is implied in Constance Fenimore Woolson's article on Mackinac (quoted, I, 33): "The deep water around Fairy Island was called 'the home of the fishes.' Day after day the canoes assembled at Iroquois Point . . ." The reader will contentedly accept this information, and will therefore be surprised to find Cadillac quoted (I, 74) as follows: "The word Missilimakinak means

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'Island of the Tortoise.' The reason why it is so called may be either because it is shaped like a tortoise, or because turtles are found in the vicinity." And further on, Alexander Henry is quoted (I, 203), giving the same meaning to the word without hesitation, but applying it somewhat differently: "It is this mountain which constitutes that high land, in the middle of the island, of which I have spoken before, as of a figure considered as resembling a *turtle*, and therefore called *michilimackinac*." Balanced thus between conflicting authorities, the reader will experience a new shock when he reads (II, 53) that "the modern meaning of the name Missilimackinac among the Indians is 'the place of dancing spirits'"; and, a little further on (II, 54), that the word means "great monsters." Now Dr. Wood includes a chapter on Indian names. It occurs towards the close of the second volume, and therefore might easily escape the observation of one who is reading the first volume. A reference to that chapter and to the word Michilimackinac would have saved the reader from being both puzzled and misled, and such a reference might well have been made in each of the cases of derivation cited here. In that chapter Dr. Wood informs us that "the meaning of the term is utterly unknown to the Indians of the present day. The whites, too, have invariably failed in analyzing and explaining the word" (II, 631). Analyzing the word etymologically, Dr. Wood appears inclined to think that it refers to the "arch rock," the greatest natural curiosity on the Island. It has nothing to do with "the home of the fishes," or a resemblance to a turtle, or "great monsters."

In the mere matter of the spelling of the Island's name, the reader may also be confused through lack of an early footnote. There is indeed a valuable digression (I, 16-17) on the geographical application of the name and on its correct pronunciation, in which the author explains that when (except in quotation) he uses the word "Mackinac" (pronounced Mackinaw) he is referring to the Island, and when he uses the word "Mackinaw" he is referring to the site on the south side of the Straits. But the reader will soon come upon highly varied forms of the longer word. Thus Dablon writes it Missilimackinac (I, 17); Father Le Clerq, Michilimackinac (I, 30); the author himself ends it with "c" (I, 16) and with "ck" (I, 49), while a quotation (I, 211)

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from the *Jesuit Relations* ends the word with "a," omitting both the "c" and the "ck." An early reference to the chapter on Indian names would have helped the reader, as he would find four variants there given of the name, together with an interesting declaration that Father Marquette's spelling, "Michilimakinong," comes nearest to the Indian pronunciation ("Mishinimakinang"). Dr. Wood might have added that the word is spelled in no less than thirteen different ways in the *Jesuit Relations*.

A similar difficulty will confront "the general reader" in the word *Outaouacs*, introduced first in Father Dablon's narrative (I, 18). Must such a reader (and Dr. Wood's volumes presumably contemplated principally that large class) be expected forthwith to recognize the Ottawas? The elaborate Index will not help him, for the word is not given there; and he would be grateful for some such reference as "See *Ottawa*, II, 632."

The transliteration of Indian names into French, English (and may we not add "United States?") vocal equivalents is often puzzling even to a thoughtful reader. There is comfort in the genial confession made by Judge Brown in his lecture (already referred to) on the parish register of Michilimackinac. Although certified by Dr. Wood as "a recognized authority upon the history of the Mackinac country" (I, 90, footnote), Judge Brown admits that he was for a time puzzled by the word *Panis* in the parish register, that he consulted dictionaries of ancient and modern French for a hint of the word's meaning, and that he finally found a clue in a note of the *Wisconsin Historical Collections*—a note not explaining the word but merely referring casually to the tribe of the *Panis* ("evidently pawnee," concludes Judge Brown).

Finally, the rich abundance of illustrations forms a striking feature of the two volumes. Some of them lack, however, such an explanatory legend as the reader of a historical work ordinarily expects to find. Thus the full-page illustration facing page 80 (Vol. I) is entitled "Jean Nicolet's Introduction to the Indians." Is the picture an original design for this work, or is it mayhap from the photograph of an oil painting? The same question might be asked concerning the full-page pictures facing pages 2 (Jacques Cartier), 3 (Champlain), 160 (Father Gabriel Richard), 188 (Alexander Henry), 273 ("The Missionary"), etc. Even the

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smaller illustrations (*e. g.*, p. 121) would become more interesting if an indication of their source were given. We find, for instance, a picture of "The Griffin" (I, 59) apparently reproduced from an old print, in which the vessel is represented as very different in appearance from that in Koerner's painting, "The Sailing of the Griffon" (opposite page 50 in the same volume). The reader would naturally wish to know the source of the illustration on page 59; and, by the way, he might also wish to know why historians refer to the vessel as *The Griffin* rather than the *Griffon*. The Index gives only *Griffin*.

The excellent care expended on the volumes by both author and publisher leads the present reviewer to offer these suggestions *de minimis* for consideration for a second edition of this interesting and valuable work.

H. T. HENRY, LITT.D.

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NOTES AND COMMENT

Entering upon a course of study in the history of Catholicism in the United States, the student soon finds himself confined to a very small number of books. Of general histories of the Church in this country, there is but one which pretends to offer a complete narrative; of special histories, either limited by time, place or idea, very few do more than repeat the work of John Gilmary Shea. No historiography of American Catholic history has been written for the guidance of the student, if we except the article in the Louvain *Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique* (Vol. i, 1900)—*L'Histoire de l'Église Catholique aux États-Unis*, by the present Rector of the Catholic University, the Right Reverend Thomas J. Shahan, D.D. Bishop Shahan has classified the writings in American Church History under the following heads: *Relations with the Holy See; Conciliar Legislation; History of the Missions; State of the Clergy; Catholic Press; Catholic Historical Societies; Archival Depots.* "Rien ne nous manque," he says at the end of his essay, "tant qu'une bibliographie générale de notre histoire ecclésiastique."

Bishop O'Gorman has given us a tentative bibliography of American Church history in his *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States* (New York 4th edition, 1907); but the surprising part of Shea's classic production in four volumes—the title is identical to that of Bishop O'Gorman's volume— is that the historian of the Church in the United States failed to profit by his cooperation with Justin Winsor, to whose *Narrative and Critical History of America* he had contributed. Shea's genius lived too much with the past for him to see in vision the student of a later day laboriously scanning his pages for references to the source-material he used.

The Preface to his first volume which carries the story of Catholicism from the days of Columbus down to the end of the French and Indian War (1492-1763), describes the projects for such a general history which had been outlined up to his day. The earliest of these is that of Bishop Bruté, of the Diocese of Vincennes (now Indianapolis), a work to be called *Catholic America*, which was "to give an outline of the history of the Church in South America, Mexico, Central America and Canada, before taking up the annals of religion in the Thirteen Colonies and under the Republic. The sketch would have been necessarily very brief, and from the heads of chapters, as given by him, would have been mainly contemporary." So far as is known, Bishop Bruté never began the actual composition of this work. No mention of it is found in Bayley, *Memoirs of Bishop Bruté* (New York, 1865), or in Bruté de Remur, *Vie de Mgr. Bruté de Remur, premier évêque de Vincennes* (Rennes, 1887). The Rev. Dr. Charles I. White, the biographer of Mother Seton, also proposed to write a history of the Church in this

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country, and with Col. B. U. Campbell collected a mass of source-material for that purpose. Shea says that "he never actually wrote any part of his projected work, nothing having been found among his papers except a sketch of his plan." Dr. White did contribute to the English translation of Darras' *General History of the Church* (New York, 1865), an Appendix (Vol. v, pp. 599–662) entitled: *Sketch of the Origin and Progress of the Catholic Church in the United States.*

The first actual contribution to the general ecclesiastical history of the United States appeared in the Paris *Univers*, from the pen of Henry De Courcy de la Roche Héron. During De Courcy's sojourn in this country, John Gilmary Shea placed at his disposal all the historical material he had gathered up to that time, and after the articles ceased in the *Univers*, Shea translated them and put them in book form: *History of the Catholic Church in the United States from the earliest settlement of the country to the present time, with biographical sketches, accounts of the religious orders, councils, etc.* New York, 2d edition, 1879. "This volume," Shea wrote in 1892, "has been for some thirty years the most comprehensive account accessible of the history of the Church in this country." De Courcy treated only a limited part of the subject, however, and immediately after the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore (1884), the Fathers of the Council commissioned Dr. Shea to fulfil his long-cherished desire of writing and publishing a complete *History of the Catholic Church in the United Sttaes.*

Archbishop Corrigan wrote at the time of Shea's death: "No one could have brought to the task a better preparation—unremitting study of a lifetime; greater devotion to the cause, or more painstaking attention to accuracy of detail. The Church in the United States owes to his memory a deep debt of gratitude. Future historians will find in his lifelong researches a mine of wealth, and generations to come will rise up and call him blessed." John Gilmary Shea had begun his historical publications at the age of fourteen, when in 1838 he contributed a striking historical portrait of Cardinal Albornoz to the *Young People's Catholic Magazine.* His first profound study was the *Discovery and Exploration of the Mississippi Valley*, (New York, 1852). This was soon followed by his *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1529–1854), (New York, 1854); his twenty-six small volumes entitled the *Cramoisy Series*, begun in 1857; and *The Hierarchy of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1886). The preparation of the *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* can really be said to have begun as far back as 1837, when he became a clerk in a Spanish merchant's office in New York City. The first volume of his *History* appeared in 1886, the second in 1888, the third in 1890, and the last chapter of the fourth volume was finished on his deathbed in February, 1892. Shea's *History* covers the years 1492 down to 1866. He left considerable material for the years which follow down to his own day, and through the generosity and historical-mindedness of the Society of Jesus many of his manuscripts and papers were purchased and are now safely housed in the *Georgetown Archives.*

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One other volume of a general nature which should be mentioned is John O'Kane Murray, *A Popular History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (New York, 1876). Of little historical value on account of its many inaccuracies, Murray's volume contains excellent appendices on various aspects of Catholicism in the United States, particularly on the problem of loss and gain in the American Church.

Bishop O'Gorman's *History of the Roman Catholic Church in the United States* (Vol. ix of *The American Church Series*, Scribner's, New York) first appeared in 1895. The fourth edition is dated 1917. As a serviceable manual, this volume is praiseworthy in every respect; but its value would have been greatly enhanced if it had included the modern apparatus of references and notes which furnish guides to the research worker.

The Sisters of Notre Dame of Namur published in 1911 a *Brief History of the Catholic Church in the United States for use in Catholic Schools*, compiled chiefly from Shea. The Preface gives a hint to the fact that the well-known Catholic publisher of Philadelphia, Mr. John Joseph McVey, has in his possession much of Shea's original source-material. This little *Compendium* deserves to be better known. It is strengthened by four ecclesiastical maps which will not be found elsewhere.

To the Franciscan Sisters of La Crosse, Wisconsin, we owe two volumes: *Our Country in Story*, intended for use in the fifth and sixth grades of our elementary schools (Chicago, 1917), and a *History of the United States for Catholic Schools* (Chicago, 1914), which is especially valuable for the just estimate it gives of the Catholic background to American history.

The foregoing paragraphs are offered as an introduction to the general topic of American Catholic historiography. Of special histories of the Church in the United States, a more numerous bibliography might be given. Following the accepted division of special history—that of *time*, *place*, and *subject*, there is already a large library of volumes which would need to be listed under the headings: *Provincial Histories*, the best of which is the *History of the Church in New England* (2 vols., Boston, 1899), by different authors for the different dioceses; *Diocesan Histories*, of which we have already published a complete list in this REVIEW (Vol. iv, pp. 264–273, 389–393, 542–546); *Parochial Histories*, the best models of which are those of German parishes throughout the country; *Corporative Histories*, namely, of the religious orders and congregations, and of Church societies, etc., for which general subject the American Church is still waiting the advent of a painstaking Heimbucher; *Ecclesiastical Biographies*, which we have begun to catalogue in the April, 1919, issue of this REVIEW; and such other headings as would describe the inner life of the Church in this country; Dogmatic Histories; Histories of Apologetical Literature; Histories of Worship and of Discipline; Hagiography; Ascetical Histories; Scientific, Liter-

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ary, Artistic Histories; Histories of Catholic Education; of Catholic Social Action; and Histories of the Relations between Church and State in the United States.

It should be understood, however, that the listing of these volumes does not constitute historiography. Fueter, in his *Geschichte der neueren Historiographie* (Munich, 1911), eliminates all Guides, Catalogues, Dictionaries, and Encyclopedias from the field of historiography. It is not sufficient to know *what* has been done, but *how* history has fared at the hands of Catholic American scholars. What needs to be done, and to be done in one volume, if possible, is to trace out in the work of the best historical writers of the Church in America the dependence, independence, or interdependence of their manner, method and originality; to note how far they supplement or control their predecessors; to detect—a very necessary procedure in American Church history—all plagiarisms; to approximate the sources at their disposal, their use or abuse of critical appraisal of these sources; to show how far each historian has proved to be an advance upon his predecessor; and how far American Catholic historical study has come along the broad highway towards modern scientific and critical scholarship.

A General History of the Catholic Church in the United States can hardly be attempted until all its leading topics be investigated in a scholarly way. Such a General History might be built upon the Winsor plan of having one general editor with chapters contributed by the best acknowledged writers in each locality. But uniformity of design and permanency of historical spirit could best be obtained if the whole work were the production of one writer.

The following are some of the topics which should be discussed beforehand by means of articles in this and other Catholic historical magazines:

1. The Navigatio Brendani.
2. Missionary activity of the Middle Ages (1200–1500).
3. America in medieval legends.
4. The Norse Church in America (1125–1492).
5. Cartography of the Middle Ages.
6. Catholic Discoverers and Explorers of the New World.
7. English Catholic Refugees in America.
8. The Avalon Expedition.
9. Crypto-Catholicism in the English Colonies.
10. The Penal Laws of the Colonies.
11. The American Martyrology.
12. The Spanish system of Colonial Church jurisdiction.
13. Church and State in New France.
14. *No Popery* in the English Colonies.
15. The Religious Clause of the Quebec Act.
16. American Catholics in foreign schools and colleges (1634–1791).
17. The Formation and Supply of the Clergy before 1791.

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18. Catholic travellers in the new United States (1783–1810).
19. Loss and gain in Colonial Days.
20. Conciliar Legislation in the United States (1791–1852).
21. The Church and Immigration (1820–1919).
22. Catholics in the Wars of 1812, 1848, 1861, 1898.
23. Catholic nomenclature in the United States.
24. History of the word *Papist* in American literature.
25. Test Oaths in the English Colonies.
26. Lay organizations in the American Church.
27. Trusteeism.
28. Jansenism in the American Church.
29. The Ludwigsmission Verein.
30. The Leopoldine Association.
31. The Propagation of the Faith (of Lyons).
32. New Hampshire Intolerance.
33. Ecclesiastical Geography of the United States.
34. Catholic University Education in Latin America.
35. Episcopal visits *ad limina* before 1860.
36. Foreign Objects of Art sent to Churches in the United States.
37. Reconstruction of the Church in the South after the Civil War.
38. Religion in Presidential Campaigns.
39. Non-Catholic efforts at a Union of Church and State in the United States.
40. The Anti-Catholic Political Movements of the Past.
41. The Anti-Catholic Press.
42. The Catholic Attitude towards History.
43. Catholic Truth and Historical Truth.
44. Higher Criticism and Catholic History.
45. The Future of the Church in English-speaking countries.

These are a few of the topics from the field of special history which have not yet been fully treated by American Catholic historical writers.

Among the recent publications on the University of Louvain, are: Delannoy, *L'Université de Louvain—Conférences données au Collège du France en Fevrier, 1915* (with sixteen illustrations). Paris, 1915; Moreau, *La Bibliothèque de l'Université de Louvain 1636–1914* (with an appendix of illustrations of its ruins). Louvain, 1918; and T. W. Koch, *The University of Louvain and its Library* (with illustrations of its ruins). London, 1917.

Have you read *The Clash, a Study in Nationalities*, by William H. Moore (New York, 1919)? The book was first published in September, 1918, and is now in its seventh edition. It is the key to a proper knowledge of conditions, social and religious, in the Dominion of Canada.

The first word on what may prove to be a long series of pamphlets on the educational crisis which seems to be looming up in the land has been spoken by the Bishop of Covington, the Rt. Rev. Ferdinand Brossart, D.D.—*Pastoral Letter on*

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the Necessity of Christian Education. The spirit of his message is that of the motto on his episcopal coat-of-arms—*Sectare Caritatem.*

Hidden behind a little brick church, whose walls have sheltered Catholic worshippers since 1792, lies a plot of ground scarcely a dozen feet square, surrounded by thick, high boxwood. No marble shaft rises to call the traveller's attention to this forgotten shrine of the Faith in the New World. No stone has been erected in the two centuries that have passed since Father Thomas Hodgson was buried there in 1726, to tell the wayfarer that here lie the mortal remains of confessors of the Church in days made dark by the anti-Catholic legislation of what was once the haven of refuge to all who were oppressed—Maryland, the land of sanctuary. No line has been carved to speak of the zeal and of the labors of one who ruled the entire Church in the English Colonies—Father John Lewis, the predecessor of Bishop Carroll in the same post. Even the occasional Philadelphian does not meet here with any bronze tablet to remind him that he walks on sacred ground, the last resting place of the founder of the Church in his great diocese: Father Joseph Greaton, who was buried here in 1753. Nothing but the loving memory of the Catholic Dorseys who occupy the farm at Bohemia Manor back of the old Jesuit House is here to keep the fires of tradition burning on this altar of early Catholic piety and devotion. No word has been left behind for the passer-by to recall the fact that this place is also sacred in the annals of Catholic education. For miles around on all sides, the visitor can see stretching off to the horizon, fine farms which were purchased in the early years of the eighteenth century by those who founded the *Mission of Bohemia Manor.*

We motored over from Middletown, Delaware, the guests of the present pastor of Middletown, of which Bohemia is now a mission, the Rev. Charles A. Crowley. Before setting out, Father Crowley showed us the *Registers* of the old Mission. The *Register of Marriages* was opened by Father Molyneux of Philadelphia fame on July 4, 1790, and this same *Register* is used today by Father Crowley. The *Register of Burials* is equally old. On the inside front cover is a letter from Father E. J. Devitt, S.J., to Father Daniel F. Haugh, S.J., who was the resident Jesuit at Bohemia:

Georgetown, January 12, 1895.

Dear Father Haugh,

P. C. In relation to the Chateaux, think that it might interest you to know of the Fathers buried at Bohemia. I send these notes taken from some papers that I have. They are Fr. Joseph Greaton, at Bohemia, from 1749 to 1753, when he died there. He was the Founder of St. Joseph's, Philadelphia: an Englishman, born at Ilfracombe. And Fr. Matthias Manners, a German, whose real name was Sittensperger, and in regard to whom Riley's book on Conewago gives information. He went to Bohemia in 1771. These two certainly were buried at your place. Besides, I have another old Catalogus, which says of Fr. Thomas Pulton, who was for a time there, under date of 1747: obiit 23 Jan. at Newtown. (Fr. Neale says Bohemia, as also Fr. Hunter.) Fr. John Lewis, who succeeded FF. Greaton and Manners, and who was

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Superior of the whole Mission at the time of the suppression, is also reported as buried there.

. . . . . .

Yours in Domino,
(*Signed*) E. I. DEVITT, S.J.

In the *Burial Register*, we found a letter which had escaped the pastor's notice, from Father Thomas Hughes, S.J., the historian of the Jesuits in the United States:

St. Francis Xavier Coll.,
30 W. 16th St., New York,
October 9, 1899.

Rev. Dear Father,

I had expected to have the pleasure of writing to your Reverence from Georgetown before this; &, while repeating my acknowledgements for the extreme kindness with which you received us the other day, also to send you a note of the old Fathers, who had departed this life at Bohemia—all of whom, I take it, are buried there. I send you forthwith a little excerpt from some very old & authentic documents here:

Hodgson, or Hudson, { Thomas, Father; obiit Bohemiae, Dec. 14 or 18; Aet. 44, 1726;

Sittensperger, or Manners, { Matthias, Father; obiit Bohemiae, June 15, 1775.

Lewis, Joannes, Father Super.; obiit Bohemiae; Mar. 24, 1788; Aet. 67.

Two of these are mentioned, Frs. Greaton & Manners, in the letter of Fr. Devitt's inserted under the cover of your *Register of Burials*. Two others, Fr. Lewis & Pulton, are mentioned dubiously. Fr. Hodgson is not named by him.

Besides, you have in that same *Register* the entries:

1798, Bohemia, Aug. 21; the Revd. Stephen Faure; aet. 37 *circiter*.

1806, March 21; Revd. Charles Whelan, O.S.F.; aet. 65.

1819, August 1, Revd. Michel Jas. Cousinne, S.J., died "yesterday;" aet. 52 (*Novitius*).

There too is given the description of how the first, P. Faure, was laid; & the other two were placed aside of him.—I trust you will find this little notice satisfactory; & believe me, *In Corde JESU,*

Yours devotedly,
(*Signed*) THOS. HUGHES, S.J.

The Rev. Jno. E. Daly,
Bohemia, Warwick, Md.

The *Baptismal Register*, well-described by Father Devitt, S.J., in his admirable article *Bohemia: Mission of St. Francis Xavier, Cecil County, Maryland* (*Records* of the Amer. Cath. Hist. Society, Vol. xxiii [June, 1913], pp. 97–139,) contains entries dating back to 1750.

These three *Registers* are among the *incunabula* of the Church in this country. They are hardly likely to hold together much longer, and they should be housed in the Georgetown Archives.

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Father Devitt gives (*l.c., ut supra*, p. 135) the names of the priests buried at Bohemia as follows.

Priests Buried at Bohemia

	Date and Country of Birth	*Date of Death*
Thomas Hodgson (Hudson), S.J...	1682, England	18 Dec., 1726
Thomas Poulton (Pulton), S.J.....	1697, England	23 Jan., 1749
Joseph Greaton, S.J.....	1679, England	19 Aug., 1753
Matthias Manners (Sittensperger), S.J.....	1719, Germany	15 June, 1775
John Lewis, S.J.....	21 Oct., 1721, England	24 March, 1788
Stephen Faure.....	1761, France	21 Aug., 1798
Charles Whelan, O.S.F.....	1741, Ireland	21 Mar., 1806
Michael J. Cousinne, S.J.....	1 Nov., 1767, Belgium	31 July, 1819
Peter Epinette, S.J.....	24 Sept., 1760, France	8 Jan., 1832
John Baptist Cary, S.J.....	16 July, 1772, France	20 May, 1843

There is no unfairness in bringing to the notice of our readers the fact that we have all been guilty of neglect towards the memory of these gallant soldiers of the Cross. It is easily understood how even Philadelphia Catholics, whose generosity to all higher things is known the world over, should have forgotten Father Greaton, S.J., to whom they owe the beginning of the Faith in their diocese; but it is hard to understand how Father John Lewis, S.J., should be neglected by the entire Catholic Church of the United States, of which he was once the juridic chief.

In 1898, the Mission at Bohemia was transferred to the Bishop of Wilmington, but the church and now deserted house stand as they did for so many years in the center of wide acres, still in the possession of the Society of Jesus, whose members purchased these lands in the early years of the eighteenth century.

An interesting article appeared in the *Catholic Standard*, of Philadelphia, for February 11, 1888, entitled: *Our First College: Bohemia.* It was here that Father Thomas Pulton opened Bohemia Academy in 1745 or 1746. Here John Carroll, Daniel Carroll, Edward Neale, Robert Brent, Bennett Neale, Archibald Richard, and James Heath went to school. "Jackey Carroll," as his name appears in an old account book, became first Bishop of Baltimore forty years later. Bohemia Academy is usually spoken of as the forerunner of Georgetown College.

Noteworthy articles in the current Reviews: *Spanish Friars in the Oregon Country*, 1810–1811, by W. D. Robinson in the *Washington Historical Quarterly*, for April, 1919; *Mother Mary Patricia Waldron*, by H. J. Heuser, in the *Records* of the Amer. Cath. Hist. Society, for March, 1919; a *Legend of the Dying Girard*, in the same periodical, by H. T. Henry; *Religious Forces in the United States*, by Martha L. Edwards, *Mississippi Valley Hist. Review*, for March, 1919.

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Catholic Standard and Times (Philadelphia), files for April 4–11, 1913; KIRLIN, *Catholicity in Philadelphia*, p. 420. Philadelphia, 1909; *cf.* CHR, Vol. iv, p. 81.

CARROLL, Archbishop John (1735–1815); Superior of the Missions in the Thirteen Original States (1784–1785); Prefect-Apostolic (1785–1789); Bishop of Baltimore (1789–1808); Administrator of Diocese of New Orleans (1809–1815); Archbishop of Baltimore (1808–1815).

ARCHIVAL MATERIAL: There are twenty cases of *Letters and Correspondence, Private* and *Administrative*, in the *Baltimore Archives.* Many of these letters are rough sketches and copies of letters sent to Rome and elsewhere, and they have been admirably used by Shea in the second volume of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States.* Shea procured copies of most of the Carroll correspondence from Rome and elsewhere and these *Shea Transcripts* are now in the *Georgetown Archives*, at the University of Georgetown. Both the *Baltimore Archives* and the *Georgetown Archives* are card-catalogued. The *Dominican Archives* at the Dominican House of Studies, Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., contains many photostatic copies of Carroll's letters and reports from foreign archives. *Cf.* C. R. FISH, *Guide to*

[1] Continued from the April issue. ABBREVIATIONS: ACHS (American Catholic Historical Society); ACQR (*American Catholic Quarterly Review*); CE (*Catholic Encyclopedia*); CHR (*Catholic Historical Review*); AHR (*American Historical Review*); USCHS (*United States Catholic Historical Society*); CUB (*Catholic University Bulletin*).

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the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives, Washington, D. C., 1911. See also, *United States Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vol. ii (1888), pp. 217–220; E. I. DEVITT, S.J., *Propaganda Documents: Appointment of the First Bishop of Baltimore*, in the ACHS *Records*, Vol. xxi, pp. 185–236. (Translation of original documents published in the AHR for July, 1910, pp. 801–839. *Cf.* also *Carroll Correspondence*, edited by E. I. DEVITT, S.J., in ACHS *Records*, Vol. xix (1908), pp. 214, 243, 385, 455, Vol. xx (1909), pp. 49, 193, 250, 432.

BIOGRAPHIES: BRENT, *Biographical Sketch of the Most Rev. John Carroll, First Archbishop of Baltimore, with select portions of his Writings*. Baltimore, 1843; B. U. CAMPBELL, *Memoirs of the Life and Times of the Most Rev. John Carroll*, in the *United States Catholic Magazine*, Vol. iii (1844), pp. 32–41, 98–101, 169–176, 244–248, 363–379, 662–669, 718–724, Vol. v (1846), pp. 595, 676, Vol. vi (1847), pp. 31, 100, 144, 434, 482, 592, Vol. vii (1848), pp. 91–106; SHEA, *Life and Times of the Most Reverend John Carroll*, being Vol. ii of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States* (1763–1815). New York, 1888; B. U. CAMPBELL, *Desultory Sketches of the Catholic Church in Maryland*, in the *Religious Cabinet* for 1842.

SECONDARY SOURCES: CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 32–113; REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 21; FINOTTI, *Bibliographia*, pp. 17-18, 22–29, 67–75, 192, 224, 225, 350, 376; RUSSELL, *Maryland the Land of Sanctuary*, pp. 367, 496–8, 509 (*Cf.* Appendix U. for Carroll genealogy). Baltimore, 1907; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, pp. 61–65; MCCANN, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 20–69 *passim*, Vol. ii, pp. 70–168 *passim;* MCSWEENEY, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 3–6, 16–19; 25–30, 48–56, 136, 151, 316, 522; WEBB, *op. cit.*, pp. 36, 161, 187, 201, 213–215. Much new material will be found in the CHR, Vols. i–iv (1915–1919), for which consult the General Indices. No special reference can be given to the ACHS *Researches*—see *Index* to the *Researches*, pp. 48–54. Philadelphia, 1916. *Cf* GUILDAY, *English Catholic Refugees, etc.*, p. 144. London, 1914.

CHABRAT, Bishop Guy Ignatius (1787–1868); Coadjutor to Bishop Flaget of Bardstown (1834–1847); resigned 1847.

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 22; CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. iii, pp. 282–288; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 282; DE COURCY-SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 539; MCCANN, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 262, Vol. ii, p. 15, 21; MCSWEENY, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 321–323; WEBB, *op. cit.*, pp. 27, 93, 139, 191, 204, 210, 242, 270, 331, 348, 382. *Cf.* CHR, Vol. ii, p. 285, Vol. iii, p. 8. Bishop Chabrat was the first priest ordained in Kentucky, *cf.* CHR, Vol. i, p. 312, note 6.

CHANCHE, Bishop John J. (1795–1852); Bp. of Natchez (1840–1852).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 22; CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 166–190; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 311; MCCANN, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 5, 56, 107, 114–117, 190; MCSWEENY, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 21, 106, 122; ACHS *Researches*, Vol. iv, p. 146, Vol. xx, p. 48; CHR, Vol. i, p. 175 (his letters to the Leopoldine Association), Vol. ii, p. 132; SHEA, *Hist. Cath. Church, etc.*, Vol. iii, pp. 411, 452–456, 660–665, 706.

CHAPELLE, Archbishop Placide Louis (1842–1905); Coadjutor Bp. of Santa Fe (1891–1893); Arch. of Santa Fe (1894–1897); Arch. of New Orleans (1897–1898); Apostolic Delegate to Cuba and Porto Rico (1898–1900); Apostolic Delegate to the Philippines (1901–1905).

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REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 23; CUB, Vol. xii, p. 137; ACHS *Researches*, Vol. xxiv, p. 357; CHR, Vol. ii, pp. 130, 432, Vol. iii, p. 31; Vol. iv, pp. 331, 362–363. Biographical sketch in CE, Vol. iii, p. 579.

CHATARD, Bishop Francis Silas (1834–1918); Rector American College, Rome (1868–1878); Bp. of Vincennes (1878–1898); transferred to Indianapolis (1898–1918).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, pp. 22–23; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 388; CHR, Vol. ii, p. 287; BRANN, *History of the American College of the Roman Catholic Church of the United States*. Rome, Italy. New York, 1910; MCSWEENY, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 47, 475, 485, 490, 520, Vol. ii, pp. 3, 180, 196, 203, 231, 329.

CHEVERUS, Cardinal John-Louis Lefebvre De (1768–1836). Bp. of Boston (1808–1823); Bp. of Montauban (1823–1826); Arch. of Bordeaux (1826–1836); Cardinal, 1835.

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 23; CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 164–185; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, pp. 85–87; SHEA, *Hist. of the Cath. Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States* (1529–1824), p. 157. New York, 1855; SHEA, *Hist. Cath. Church in the United States*, Vol. iii, pp. 107–131; HAMON, *Vie du Cardinal Cheverus*, Paris, 1837; English translation of Hamon by STEWART, Boston, 1839; DOUBOURG, J.HUEN, *Cardinal De Cheverus*, trans. by Robert M. Walsh. Philadelphia: Hooker and Claxton, 1839; LEAHY, *Archdiocese of Boston* in *History of the Catholic Church in the New England States*, Boston, 1889; CE, Vol. iii, p. 650; MCCANN, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 9, 18, 32, 37–38, 54, 78, 83, 97–99, 103–108, 233—letters of, pp. 19, 30, 103, Vol. ii, pp. 81 (funeral of); MCSWEENY, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 28, 49–50; 124, 156, 172; FINOTTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 40–41, 50, 119–120, 136, 143, 177, 191, 195, 239, 240–242; FISH, *op. cit.*, pp. 176–178; KENNEY, *Centenary, etc.*, p. 32 (portrait of Cheverus); ACHS *Records*, Vol. xii (1901), pp. 358–361 (*Two letters from Rt. Rev. John Cheverus to Jean Marie Maximilien de Vernous, Marquis de Bonneuil); ibid.*, Vol. xv (1904), pp. 35–45 (*Boston's first Catholic Church*, by E. I. DEVITT, S.J., contains also letters of Matignon to Carroll); *ibid.*, Vol. xiv (1903), pp. 229–382 (*An Interesting Correspondence*, by I. M. O'REILLY contains an excellent historical introduction to Cheverus' life); *ibid.*, Vol. xv (1904), pp. 83–112 (sixty-four letters from the Cheverus papers); *cf.* O'REILLY, *Cheverus in France*, a second series of letters in the ACHS *Records*, Vol. xvii (1906), pp. 97, 211, 348, 486. *Cf.* also *My Unknown Chum*. New York, 1917 (Devin Adair Co.); *U. S. Cath. Magazine*, Vol. iv (1845), p. 200 (portrait of Cheverus), pp. 261–267 (*Notice of Card. Cheverus*). See *Index* to ACHS *Researches*, p. 70. CHR, Vol. i, pp. 151, 279, 310–11, 369, Vol. ii, pp. 21–29, 40, 77, 228–230, 296, 300, Vol. iv, pp. 38, 42, 48, 403.

The Rev. Charles W. Collins of St. Clement's House, Boston, Mass., who has been making a special study of the history of the Boston Archdiocese, has sent us the following lists, all of which contain material for the Cheverus bibliography:

1. *History of Boston.*

Boston, Memorial History of, edited by Justin Winsor, 4 vols. Ticknor & Co., Boston, 1886. In Vol. iii, *The Roman Catholic Church* by V. Rev. Wm. Byrne, D.D.; *Boston, Old Landmarks and Historic Personages of*, by S. A. Drake. J. H. Osgood & Co., Boston, 1873; *Boston, King's Handbook of*, compiled by Moses King. Cambridge, 1878; 5,000 *Boston Events* compiled by E. H. Savage. Tolman & White, Boston, 1884.

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2. *Poterie, Abbé de la (first resident Catholic priest in Boston).*

Catholics and the American Revolution, by M. I. J. Griffin, Vol. 3, page 290; *Les Combattants Français de la Guerre Americaine*, 1778–1783. Washington, Imprimerie Nationale, 1905, pp. 170, 246; *Boston, History of*, by C. H. Snow, p. 340; Massachusetts Historical Society *Collections*, series 1, Vol. iii, p. 264, Nov. 24, 1790, Jan. 26, June 24, July 30, 1791; *Boston Topographical and historical description of*, 1794, in the *U. S. Catholic Magazine*, Vol. 8, p. 103; Broadside of Abbé de la Poterie to public, Jan. 29, 1789; Broadside (1789?); *Boston Gazette*, 13 July, 1789; *Boston Pilot*, 1865—J. G. Shea, *Notes on Catholicity in N. E.; Baltimore Archives*, letters of La Poterie to Bishop Carroll; *Boston Archives:* Memoir for History of Diocese of Boston; Minutes of parish meetings of Holy Cross Church, 1789.

3. *Rousselet, Rev. Louis (second resident priest of Holy Cross Church, Boston).*

Massachusetts Historical Soc. *Colls.*, Belknap Papers, Vol. 3, p. 240; *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, files 1791 *seq; Baltimore Archives*, letters Rousselet to Bishop Carroll and Bishop Carroll to Rousselet; *Boston Archives*, Memoir for History of Diocese of Boston.

4. *Thayer, Rev. John (third priest of Holy Cross Church, Boston).*

Thayer family memorial, by Ezra Thayer; *Tableau des principales conversions*, by M. Nagot; *Salem, Annals of*, by J. B. Felt; *Kentucky, Sketches of*, by Spalding; Propagation of the Faith *Annals; Recollections of S. Breck.* Philadelphia, 1877; *Boston, History of*, by C. H. Snow; Mass. Hist. Soc. *Colls.*, sixth series, Belknap Papers, Vol. 3; *Columbian Centinel*, Boston (10 Sept., 1788), 1789, 1790, 1791; *Baltimore Archives*, correspondence with Bishop Carroll; *Boston Archives*, Memoir of History of Diocese of Boston; *Boston Pilot*, 1865.

5. *Matignon, Rev. F. A. (fourth priest of Holy Cross Church, Boston).*

Boston, Memorial History of, Winsor ed. Boston, 1886, Vol. 3; *Boston, Centennial volume of Diocese* (1803–1903), 1903; *Boston Commercial Gazette*, files 1818; *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, 1818; *Baltimore Archives*, correspondence with Bp. Carroll, 1792–1817; *Boston Archives*, account book Holy Cross Church, 1793–1803.

6. *Cheverus, John Cardinal.*

Nouvelle Biographie Universelle, Paris, F. Didot Frères, 1854, Vol. 9, p. 270 *seq.; Boston Monthly Magazine*, June, 1825; *Boston, Memorial History of*, edited by J. Winsor, Boston, Ticknor & Co., 1886, Vol. 3, p. 516 *seq.; Bostonian Society Publications*, Vol. 2, p. 32 *seq.; Metropolitan, The*, Vol. iv, pp. 460, 462; *Figures of the Past*, by Josiah Quincy, Boston, Roberts Bros., 1883, pp. 311, 313; *Recollections of Samuel Breck*, Philadelphia, Porter & Coates, 1877, p. 117; *Cheverus, Vie du Cardinal de*, par M. le Curé de S. Sulpice, Paris, J. Lecoffre & Cie, 1858; *New England, Sketches of Catholic Church in*, by Rev. J. Fitton, Boston, P. Donahue, 1872, pp. 99 *seq.; Boston Herald*, 2, Aug. 1903; *Boston Commercial Gazette*, 20 June, 1827; *Columbian Centinel*, Boston, 20 June, 1827; *Baltimore Archives:* letters Cheverus to Bishop Carroll, 1797–1816, to Arch. Neale, 1816–1817, to Arch. Marechal, 1817–1823; *Boston Archives:* Memoir for Ecclesiastical History of Boston; letter Fr. Cheverus in reply to article in *Telegraph*, 20 May, 1800, signed *A Catholick*, letter to —— Boston, 17 April, 1801, letter to editor *Boston Anthology*, 4 May, 1807, address of Boston Catholics to Bishop-elect Cheverus, 27 Sept. 1810, letter Bishop Cheverus to god-child, Boston, 2 April, 1816.

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CLANCY, Bishop William (1802–1847); Coadjutor of Charleston (1834–37); Vicar Apostolic of British Guiana (1837–1898).

REUSS, *op.cit.*, pp. 23–24 (contains full notes on his erratic career); CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 44–57; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 200; ACHS *Researches*, Vol. vi, pp. 121–125, Vol. viii, p. 167, Vol. x, p. 144, Vol. xx, p. 186; CHR, Vol. i, p. 376.

COLTON, Bishop Charles Henry (1848–1915); Bp. of Buffalo (1903–1915).

CHR, Vol. ii, p. 142; CE, Vol. iii, p. 39; DONOHUE, *History of the Cath. Church in Western New York*. Buffalo, 1904. Files of *The Echo*, and of the *Catholic Union and Times* of Buffalo, for May, 1915. TIMON, *Missions in Western New York*. Buffalo, 1862; CRONIN, *Life and Times of Bishop Ryan*. Buffalo, 1898.

CONATY, Bishop Thomas (1847–1915); Rector of The Catholic University of America (1897–1903); titular Bishop of Samos (1901–1902); Bp. of Monterey and Los Angeles (1907–1915).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 25; CUB, Vol. iv, pp. 487, 493, Vol. viii, p. 124, Vol. ix, p. 439; CHR, Vol. ii, p. 294. *Cf.* files of *The Tidings*, for September, 1915.

CONCANEN, Bishop Richard Luke, O.P. (1740–1810); Bp. of New York (1808–1810).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, pp. 25–26; CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 140–143; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, pp. 132–133; BENNETT, *op. cit.*, p. 459; HEWITT, *History of the Diocese of Syracuse*, pp. 21–23. Syracuse, 1909; MCSWEENY, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 151; WEBB, *op. cit.*, p. 202; FINOTTI, *op. cit.*, p. 177; FISH, *op. cit.*, p. 174, 175, 192; JOHN TALBOT SMITH, *The Catholic Church in New York*, Vol. i, p. 38–39. New York, 1905; *cf. Index* to ACHS *Researches*, pp. 75–77; the best account of his life is that by V. F. O'Daniel, O.P., in the CHR, Vol. i, pp. 400–421, Vol. ii, pp. 19–46. A complete bibliography will be found pp. 400–401 of the CHR, Vol. i (The *Dominican Archives* at Washington, D. C., contain photostatic copies of his correspondence). *Cf.* CHR, Vol. i, p. 311, Vol. ii, p. 140.

CONNOLLY, Bishop John, O.P. (1750–1825); Bp. of New York (1814–1825).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, pp. 26–27; CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 192–204; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 133; J. T. SMITH, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 15–70; HEWITT, *op. cit.*, p. 24; FINOTTI, *op. cit.*, p. 239; MCCANN, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 88, 125; USCHS *Historical Records and Studies*, Vol. ii (1900), p. 227 (his portrait); *U. S. Cath. Hist. Magazine*, Vol. iv (1891–93), pp. 58–61 and 186–198. (CONNOLLY correspondence), ACHS *Researches*, Vol. xxii, pp. 91, 232, 250, Vol. xxiv, p. 379, Vol. xxxiii, p. 343. See *Rosary Magazine*, for April, 1895. BAYLEY, *Brief Sketch of the History of the C. C. on the Island of New York*. New York, 1853. *Cf.* files of the *Catholic Miscellany*, for 1824-1825. Biographical sketch in CE, Vol. iv, p. 257.

CONROY, Bishop John Joseph (1819–1895); Bp. of Albany (1865–1877); tit. Bp. of Curium (1878–1895).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 27; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 179; CUB, Vol. vii, p. 128; MCSWEENY, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 407–411, 545; Vol. ii, p. 180; ACHS *Researches*, Vol. vii, p. 101; FARLEY, *Life of John Cardinal McCloskey*, pp. 223–224, 245, 261, 328; CHR, Vol. ii, p. 141.

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CONWELL, Bishop Henry (1745–1842); Bp. of Philadelphia (1820–1842).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28; CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 310–327; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 156; FISH, *op. cit.*, pp. 146–147, 180–182; FINOTTI, *op. cit.*, pp. 139, 141, 143, 149, 151–170 *passim;* MCCANN, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, p. 112; MCSWEENY, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 60, 150, 164, 227, 241; KIRLIN, *Catholicity in Philadelphia*, pp. 219–266. Philadelphia, 1909. *Cf. Index* to ACHS *Researches*, pp. 78–79. The American Catholic Historical Society began in 1913 (Vol. xxiv, p. 16 of its *Records*) the publication of the *Life of Bishop Conwell* of Philadelphia, written by Martin I. J. Griffin. For the literature on the troubles which burdened Conwell's episcopate, *cf. Index of Historical Pamphlets in the Library of St. Charles Seminary, Overbrook, Pa.*, in the ACHS *Records*, Vol. xiii (1902), pp. 66–119. *Cf.* CHR, Vol. i, p. 357, Vol. ii, pp. 227, 428, Vol. iii, pp. 22, 23, 336. *Cf.* for an account of his funeral by an eyewitness, SALZBACHER, *Meine Reise nach Nord-Amerika im Jahre* 1842. Vienna, 1895. SHEA, *Hist. C. C. in the U. S.*, Vol. iii, pp. 229–264.

CORRIGAN, Archbishop Michael Augustine (1839–1902); Bp. of Newark (1873–1880); Coadjutor Archbishop of New York (1880–1885); Arch. of New York (1885–1902).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 29; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 148; J. T. SMITH, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 404–430 (*cf. ibid.*, pp. 542–555 for an account, somewhat partisan, of the McGlynn case); *The Silver Jubilee of Arch. Corrigan* (with portrait), in the USCHS *Hist. Records and Studies*, Vol. i (1905), pp. 14–17. See Corrigan's *Register of the Clergy laboring in the Archdiocese of New York from early missionary times to* 1885, begun in the *Hist. Records and Studies*, Vol. i, p. 18; CUB, Vol. viii, p. 382; ACHS *Researches*, Vol. ix, p. 95, Vol. xi, p. 143, Vol. xxii, p. 149, Vol. xxvi, p. 45; MCSWEENY, *op. cit.*, Vol. i, pp. 416, 501, 517, 525, Vol. ii, pp. 1–3, 180–185, 196, 213, 222, 279, 299, 350. See biog. sketch in *Hist. Records and Studies*, Vol. iii (1903), pp. 9–13; FARLEY, *op. cit.*, pp. 211, 349–350, 362–363, 369, 376–377; CHR, Vol. ii, pp. 140, 143, 193, 194, 204, 302; *Memorial of Most Rev. Archbishop Corrigan, Third Archbishop of New York.* New York, 1902; FLYNN, *Cath. Church in New Jersey.* Morristown, 1904; FARLEY, *History of St. Patrick's Cathedral.* New York, 1908.

COSGROVE, Bishop Henry (1834–1906); Bp. of Davenport (1884–1906).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 29; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 219; GIGLINGER, *The Rt. Rev. Henry Cosgrove*, biog. sketch, in *Acta et Dicta*, Vol. ii, July, 1910, pp. 211–218—portrait on page 210; *cf. The Messenger* (New York), for January, 1907; ACHS *Researches*, Vol. xxii, p. 175; MCGOVERN, *Life and Writings of Rt. Rev. John Wm. McMullen, D.D., first bishop of Davenport, Iowa.* Milwaukee, 1888. *Cf.* CHR, Vol. iii, p. 162; KEMPKER, *History of the Catholic Church in Iowa* (1884).

COTTER, Bishop Joseph Bernard (1844–1908); Bp. of Winona (1889–1909).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 29; CHR, Vol. iii, p. 158.

CRÉTIN, Bishop Joseph (1799–1857); Bishop of St. Paul (1850–1857).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 30; CLARKE, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 415–430; SHEA, *Hierarchy, etc.*, p. 377; DE COURCY-SHEA, *op. cit.*, p. 639; SHEA, *History of the Catholic Missions, etc.*, p. 400; CHR, Vol. i, p. 68 (letters), Vol. ii, 428, Vol. iii, p. 555–556; ACHS *Researches*, Vol. viii, p. 261, Vol. xii, pp. 82–84, Vol. xv, p. 46. Biog. sketch in CE, Vol. iv, pp. 487–488. Most of the material for Bishop Crétin's life is still in manuscript, but special reference should be

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given to the *Life of Bishop Crétin*, from the pen of the late Archbishop Ireland, in the *Acta et Dicta* of the St. Paul Catholic Historical Society. The initial chapters are in Vol. iv, No. 2, July, 1916. Bishop Crétin's *Diary* is in Vol. i (*ibid.*), No. 1, July, 1907, pp. 39–42. *Cf.* SCHAEFFER, *History of the Diocese of St. Paul*, in *Acta et Dicta*, Vol. iv, No. 1, July, 1915, pp. 32–71. *Cf.* THEBAUD, *Forty Years in the United States*, pp. 274-275. New York, 1904. *Cf.* SHEA, *Hist. Cath. Church, etc.*, Vol. iv, pp. 244–246, 258–260, 262, 646–648. *Cf.* also the *Memoirs* of Father Ravoux, who became Administrator of the diocese after Crétin's death (St. Paul, 1892).

CUNNINGHAM, Bishop John Francis (1842–1919); Bp. of Concordia (1898–1919).

Cf. CHR, Vol. i. p. 389: Vol. ii, p. 430. Also files of the *Catholic Advance* and the *Catholic Register* for September, 1898, September, 1915, and June, 1919.

CURRIER, Bishop Charles Warren (1857–1918); Bp. of Matanzas (1913–1915).

Catholic News, New York, for November 9, 1918; *The Baltimore Catholic Review*, for September 28, 1918.

CURTIS, Bishop Alfred Allen (1841–1908); Bp. of Wilmington, Del. (1886–1896); V. G. of Baltimore (1896–1908).

REUSS, *op. cit.*, p. 30; MCSWEENY, *op. cit.*, Vol. ii, pp. 301, 329; *cf. Souvenir of Loretto Centenary*, p. 363 (biog. sketch). Cresson, Pa., 1899; portrait in ACHS *Records*, Vol. xx (1909), p. 86; CHR, Vol. i, p. 378; *Life and Characteristics of Rt. Reverend Alfred A. Curtis, D.D., Second Bishop of Wilmington.* Compiled by the Sisters of the Visitation, New York, 1913.

CUSACK, Bishop Thomas F. (1862–1918); Aux. Bp. of New York (1904–1915); Bp. of Albany (1915–1918).

CHR, Vol. ii, p. 141; *cf. Catholic News* (New York), for July 20, 1918.

PETER GUILDAY.

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BLUCKMANN, FREDERICK, and BUECHLER, JOSEPH NICHOLAS. *St. John's Orphanage Edition of The Messenger.* Belleville, Ill., 1919. Pp. 117.

BOLTON, HERBERT EUGENE, PH.D. *Kino's Historical Memoir of Pimeria Alta.* Cleveland: Arthur H. Clark and Co., 1919. Vol. i, pp. 379; Vol. ii, pp. 329.

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FOR THE STUDY OF THE CHURCH HISTORY OF THE UNITED STATES

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The
Catholic Historical Review

VOLUME V JANUARY, 1920 NUMBER 4

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN AMERICA IN 1819

A CONTEMPORARY ACCOUNT

In Washington, at the Catholic University, on February 20, 1919, before eighty bishops assembled to do honor to the illustrious Cardinal Gibbons, His Eminence Cardinal O'Connell in a striking phrase spoke of "the unimaginable transition from the infant church of Maryland to the giant church of America." In this period of reconstruction, we are accustoming ourselves more and more to attempt to see what is beyond tomorrow, and less and less to remembering what was before yesterday. Yet one important element in what is and is to be, is what was, for our corporate life holds in itself in effect all that it has lived; and reconstruction without tradition is unintelligent. There was another period in our history when it seemed that an age was over and another just beginning, and when men with imagination were wondering to themselves what the Church was to be in the coming century, a hundred years ago. We, who, in a sense, are where they were, may find inspiration in seeing just what they were, and fortunately we possess contemporary accounts in the writings of Kohlmann, England, Maréchal, Dzierozynski, Flaget and Grassi, of their position, their problems, difficulties and fears. The account of the last named writer may prove most interesting as being from the viewpoint of an outsider, who yet took an intimate part in church development during the years 1810–1817, and who wrote his memoir, "Notizie Varie" in Milan in 1818.[1]

[1] Giovanni Grassi, S.J., *Notizie varie sullo stato presente della Repubblica degli Stati Uniti d'America settentrionale, scritte al principio del 1818*. Ed. 2. Milano per Giovanni Silvestro, MDCCXIX. (Georgetown University, Riggs Library, *Shea Collection*, 162.73.) Part of the work appeared in translation in the American Catholic Historical Society *Researches*, vol. viii., pp. 98-111, taken from the *Woodstock Letters*, vol. xi., No. 3.

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John Anthony Grassi was one of those European Jesuits who played a great part in helping the expansion of the Church and of the Society in America after its restoration, and the story of his coming here is interesting and typical.[2]

Father Louis Poirot, the last of the old Jesuit missionaries in China, musician to the Court of Pekin, wrote with his dying hand to the Pope asking for a successor. The Holy Father sent the petition on to Father General Gruber, who immediately ordered Fathers Korsack and Grassi to come to him at Petersburg with mathematical, physical and astronomical books. Father Grassi, who was born at Bergamo, September 10, 1775.[3] and had been a novice at Colorno under the Ven. Joseph Pignatelli, set out with his companion from Polocz, where he had been preparing for the Armenian mission at Astrakhan on the Caspian Sea. Once with the General they received their orders, and then began, in February, 1805, a strange Odyssey that was to last five years and end, not in Pekin but in Baltimore. Through Russia and Finland, they crossed the frozen sea to Aland Island, over the Gulf of Bothnia to Sweden and Stockholm; then to Copenhagen, by a change of plans. Again a disappointment, and they crossed a stormy winter sea to London. From here they were sent to Lisbon, and they stopped off at Cork on the way. At Lisbon they tarried long, after a new disappointment, waited for orders from Russia, and studied astronomy there and at Coimbra. We pass over all their attempts and failures to get a ship, and find them once more in England in November, 1807, to make another effort to set sail, and meanwhile to study more astronomy in London. Then came orders to go back to Russia to make a new attempt by way of Tartary, only to be followed by others soon after assigning Grassi to the mission of Maryland, just then in pressing need of men. He sailed from Liverpool on August 27, 1810, landed in Baltimore on October 20, and went straight on to Georgetown. The Maryland mission at this time was in a state of transition from the older regime, and on October 16, 1811, Grassi at the age of thirty-three, was named Superior, and Rector

[2] *Woodstock Letters*, Vol. iv, pp. 114 sq.

[3] And not, as stated in ACHS *Researches*, *l.c.*, October 12, 1778, where he is confounded with Nicholas Grassi, who entered the same day, November 16, 1779, *Catal. Prov. Ital, S.J.*, 1829.

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of Georgetown by the General, who passed over Kohlmann "on account of his important labors in New York."[4]

Grassi did very much to "revive" Georgetown, to use Carroll's phrase; it was during his administration that President Madison signed the Act of Congress (1815), raising the college to the rank of a University. He remained in his position of Superior of the mission until July, 1817, when he left for Europe on business for the Society and for Archbishop Neale. He was never to return. He published his *Notizie* at Milan in 1818, and a second edition appeared the following year.

It is a fair-sized book of 146 pages and is divided into three parts: *Notizie varie* (pp. 1-59), on the climate, soil, products, commerce, population, characters, costume, literature and government; on the various sects in the states (pp. 60-110); and on the present state of the Catholic religion, (pp. 111-146), under two headings, *Diocesses* and *Churches and functions*. Annexed to the volume is a double-page statistical table giving, in parallel columns, the names of states with latitude and longitude, area in square miles, products, minerals, population in 1790 and in 1810, inhabitants per square miles, capital and principal cities with respective population, universities and colleges, and number of representatives in Congress, an imposing array, showing that he had made full and sympathetic use of his time here in America.

What was the position of the Church as he saw it here a century ago? As is well known, the Province of Baltimore embraced the sees of Baltimore (1789) and the newly erected sees (1808) of Philadelphia, New York, Boston and Bardstown. New Orleans, which was added in 1803, had been founded in 1793, and its first Bishop was Peñalver y Cardenas; Charleston and Richmond were not to follow until 1820, and Cincinnati in 1821. Archbishop Carroll had died in 1815; Leonard Neale had succeeded, and died in 1817, and Ambrose Maréchal, (1764-1828) was now archbishop. The Diocese of Baltimore at this time comprised the states south and southwest of Maryland, and for this territory in 1818, there were 53 priests, of whom 24 were seculars, 20 were Jesuits, and 9 Sulpicians,[5]

[4] HUGHES, *Hist. of S.J. in N. A., Documents*, ii, 992, General, Rome, to Carroll, 20 Nov., 1811.

[5] Maréchal to Propaganda, HUGHES, *Docs.*, ii, 957, 959.

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for a population estimated by Maréchal in 1821 to be 80,000. In Baltimore itself there were five churches, including the Seminary Church which, says Grassi, was "Gothic, but elegant." Washington had St. Patrick's and Holy Trinity at Georgetown, too small by two-thirds for the flock. Frederick had its church and one priest, Father Malevé, S.J., who traveled as far afield as Martinsburg and Cumberland. Norfolk and Alexandria had churches; Richmond, Petersburg and Fredericksburg had congregations but no churches. Charleston, S. C., and Augusta, Ga., had each a church and a priest; Savannah had 500 Catholics and a church but no priest,[6] North Carolina had congregations at Newbern and Washington, but no church until 1823.[7] Maryland also had churches and large congregations in Prince George's, Charles, St. Mary's and Cecil counties. The diocese of Philadelphia presents two distinct pictures: the four city churches, St. Joseph's, founded by Joseph Greaton, S.J., in 1734,[8] Holy Trinity (1789), St. Mary's (1763), and St. Augustine's, founded in 1796 by Matthew Carr, O.S.A.; and the outside missions, Conewago, with four Jesuits, Lancaster with one, Gosphenhoppen with two, Loretto in Cambria County, with the illustrious Father Gallitzin—in the whole diocese only thirteen priests for 30,000 people. Of course all these centers had dependent missions, *e.g.*, from Lancaster they went to Elizabethtown, Harrisburg and Chester, from Conewago to York and Carlisle and Westminster, Md.; Gallitzin had an even greater territory, while Father O'Brien at Pittsburg tended a district "equal to ten dioceses in Italy," said Felix de Andreis, on passing through in 1817.[9] New York was less well off. With an estimated Catholic population of more than 20,000 in 1818, "mostly Irish, whose attachment to the Faith is wonderful," says Grassi, there were two churches, St. Peter's in Barclay Street (1786), and old St. Patrick's, built by Father Kohlmann in 1809–10. Bishop Connolly, O.P., was laboring as a missionary priest almost alone here; he had only four priests, two of them very old. Albany had its St. Mary's Church, and one priest, who traveled all over western and central New

[6] England, *Works*, Vol. iii, *Hist. of Dioc. of Charleston*, pp. 246 sq. (Balto., 1849).
[7] *U. S. Catholic Miscellany*, Vol. ii, pp. 54, 96, 146.
[8] ACHS *Researches*, vol. xvi, p. 82.
[9] *U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vol. iii, p. 247.

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York, and Utica received a priest and a church in 1819.[10] Outside of these there were no other churches, though many scattered Irish Catholics lived throughout the state. In the Empire State in 1819, the Church had everything yet to do. The real founder of the church in Boston was the Abbé Matignon in 1792, though Rev. C. F. Bouchard de la Poterie had opened a chapel in 1788 for 120 Catholics,[11] but it was soon afterwards suspended. It was now presided over by Bishop Cheverus, whose name is illustrious in our annals. He had only three priests for over 800 Catholics, and outside of Boston, only two churches, beside a few stations along the north and south shores. There was the Indian station at Pleasant Point on the Penobscot with one missionary, Father Ryan, and St. Patrick's at New Castle, Maine, in which state, at the constitutional convention of 1819, anti-Catholic legislation was averted and safely weathered by the prompt action of energetic Catholics.[12] In 1820 the first church was built; the year 1817 saw the first ordination, that of Dennis Ryan, and 1818 the holy death of Abbé Matignon.[13] It was Cheverus who in 1820 was to introduce the Ursulines to Boston, whence six years later they removed to Charlestown.

It is when we come to the West that we find interest and promise. Over those vast reaches very few missionaries traveled, but the very character of the enterprises in such a wilderness is what fires the imagination. Maryland was already old and well established as a Church and had only to carry out its normal development in an enlightened manner to realize its promise. New York and Boston had hardly begun. But the West was palpably growing, emigration had already started, and mere trading stations at a favorable spot on the Great River were in a few years to be cities. In 1808 there was one diocese, Bardstown; thirty years later the assembled bishops at Baltimore asked for an increase in dioceses that brought their total number west of the Alleghenies up to nineteen. There were in 1819 two centers of radiation; New Orleans and Bardstown. The Louisiana Purchase (1803) had brought 30,000 Catholics into the boundaries of the

[10] Zwierlein, *Catholic beginnings in the Diocese of Rochester*, in the Catholic Historical Review, Vol. i, p. 284.

[11] *U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vol. iii, p. 314.

[12] ACHS *Researches*, Vol. ix, p. 159.

[13] Scanlan, *Brief History of the Archdiocese of Boston* (Boston, 1908), pp. 23, 25.

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United States, and after a vacancy of the See since 1802, the Sulpician, Louis W. Du Bourg, was made administrator by Carroll in 1812, and was consecrated Bishop of New Orleans on September 18, 1815, at Rome. In October, 1816, he sent 10 Ursulines from Bordeaux, and in May, 1817, he wrote to Propaganda that he was leaving France with 20 missionaries, having sent 13 more ahead, among them the Lazarists, Felix de Andreis and Joseph Rosati, later Bishop of St. Louis (1827)[14] which at this time was a struggling village. The diocese extended eight or nine hundred miles up the west bank of the Mississippi and was roughly divided into two parts: Upper and Lower Louisiana, in the former of which de Andreis was his Vicar-General. In 1819, Bishop Dubourg had five religious of the Sacred Heart, three of them of a rare talent for teaching.[15] Besides the local population, three separate emigrations of Acadians had come from Maryland from 1765–1767 where 900 of them had settled, and later the Catholic population was further to be increased by a migration of American Catholics from the same state.

Bishop Flaget, S.S., was the pioneer Bishop of Bardstown, and we have his own account of his diocese in a letter to Propaganda of 1815.[16] His diocese ran about 700 miles along the east bank of the Mississippi, and was almost as wide. His priests included four Dominicans, two Sulpicians and four others, among whom were Fathers Badin and Nerinckx, missionaries of long experience in that country. There were in all nine Catholic settlements in Kentucky, eight in Marion County, and one in Scott County, founded between the years 1785 and 1795, and where the Catholics remained close together, the Faith persevered under the ministrations of occasional priests who passed through or came and stayed short periods.[17] In 1819 the Catholic population numbered 10,000, and, to train his own priests, the bishop had begun a seminary in 1811, under Father John B. David, afterward his coadjutor. In both this nascent seminary and the Dominican priory he counted sixteen students

[14] HUGHES, *Docs.*, ii, pp. 1012, 1013, note.

[15] HUGHES, *Text*, ii, 549.

[16] CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. i, pp. 305–319, with Fr. O'Daniel's illuminating notes.

[17] WEBB, *Centenary of Catholicity in Kentucky*, pp. 26 sq.

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not yet ordained. He had nineteen churches, seven of them erected by Nerinckx. Ohio was then a missionary adjunct of Kentucky and held in all about fifty Catholic families. Its oldest church is St. Joseph's, near Somerset, Perry County, founded on December 6, 1818, by the Dominicans, Edward Fenwick and N. D. Young; they began with ten families and by 1824, there were one hundred and fifty.[18] It was this field that was to win for Edward Fenwick the title of Missionary of Ohio and the onerous post of first Bishop of Cincinnati (1822). In Indiana there was a station at Post-Vincennes, but no priest; in Illinois, three parishes and two priests, the parishes of St. Ann's at Detroit and of St. Anthony's at Raisin River, both under the famous Sulpician, Gabriel Richard, congressman and printer. The Indian missions in all those vast regions were most of them practically non-existent since the collapse of the Jesuit missions after the expulsion of the Society from all French territory in 1763.

In all this expansion since the small beginnings of colonial days, the religious orders played their part. The Jesuits, who in the designs of Providence were the pioneers of the Faith in the colonies and were alone on the scene in Maryland and Pennsylvania up to the Revolution, had 144 active missionaries there in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; and, besides from Canada, they labored from Maine to Detroit and from Louisiana up to the Illinois country, making in all 464 Jesuits working in North America in those two centuries.[19] In 1819 they attended 45 stations in Maryland and Pennsylvania, and two in New York, and cooperating with them in those places were twelve secular priests. Their only college, since closing up the New York school,[20] was Georgetown, which Grassi left flourishing. In 1823 they were to open a novitiate at Florissant, Mo., near St. Louis, the beginning of the present Missouri province. The Sulpicians, who had opened a seminary and college in Baltimore and a college at Emmitsburg, had 9 members in the diocese and in 1821 were educating 15 Seminarians, 87 in the *petit séminaire*, and 188 in the college in Baltimore; and in Bardstown Father

[18] *U. S. Catholic Miscellany*, Vol. ii, No. 11, pp. 164–5, 1824.

[19] Hughes, *Text*, ii, Appendix F, p. 704.

[20] Catholic Historical Review, April 1918, p. 48.

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David, S.S., directed a college with 25 students and 12 seminarians. Of them Carroll had said in 1812: "Too much praise cannot be given by me to the priests of St. Sulpice here for their zeal and sacrifices to the public cause."[21] The Dominicans under E. D. Fenwick, O.P., had made their pioneer foundation at St. Rose s in Kentucky in 1806, and were teaching in the seminary and performing valiant missionary service in the surrounding states. The Lazarists, who had first come here in 1816, had 9 members here and had founded their first house at the Barrens, afterwards St. Mary's College and Seminary, and under their illustrious superior, Felix de Andreis (1778–1820), were performing the usual laborious missionary work, and having, besides, great success in evangelizing the Indians.[22] Communities of women were not wanting, too: the Carmelites (1790), at Port Tobacco; the Visitation nuns (1799), at Georgetown; the Sisters of Charity at Emmitsburg (1808) and New York (1817); the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth in Kentucky (1813), in which State Father Thomas Wilson, O.P., was to found a community of Sisters of the Third Order of St. Dominic near Springfield in 1822; the Ursulines in Boston (1820), New York (1812), and New Orleans (1727); and Father Nerinckx's community of Friends of Mary at the Foot of the Cross at Loretto in Kentucky (1812), were all doing splendid missionary and educational work. The outlook for vocations among women was bright, but among men not so encouraging, though the dark picture given by Benedict Fenwick, S.J., and Bishop Connolly is somewhat lightened by the optimistic words of Grassi. Fenwick wrote: "What can you do with, or expect from young hairbrained Americans . . . infatuated with the sound of liberty and equality?" "The American youth," adds Connolly, "have an almost invincible repugnance to the ecclesiastical state," yet Grassi says: "A fair number of excellent young men, native to the country, have already entered upon an ecclesiastical career."[23]

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[21] HUGHES, *Docs.*, 994, Carroll to Plowden, England, January 27, 1812.

[22] *U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vol. i, pp. 233 sq. *Early Lazarist Missions and Missionaries.*

[23] Fenwick, N. Y., to Grassi, Georgetown, February 20, 1815, HUGHES, *Docs.*, i, p. 835, n. 60. Connolly, N. Y., to Propaganda in BAYLEY, *History of Catholic Church in N. Y.*, p. 92.

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The nationality of the Catholic populations varied in different localities. In Baltimore they were mostly of English descent, with some Irish and Acadians; in Philadelphia, Germans and Irish; in New York and Boston, mostly Irish; in Kentucky the melting pot was already in operation. Most of these Catholics had brought their religion with them to this country, but Grassi and Kohlmann speak of converts, and hope of converts, especially among the Methodists. The Alien and Sedition Acts of 1798 threatened for a time, but the good sense and energy of Jefferson averted what was in reality a danger not only for religion but for the country itself. A more lasting danger was the trustee system, which was then beginning to show its ugly head.

Education does not seem to have grown apace with religious expansion, small as that may seem to us now. Georgetown, our first Catholic college, founded by Carroll in September, 1791, with Rev. Robert Plunkett as President (d. 1815), had in 1819 a staff of 11 professors and nearly 100 students, under the presidency of Anthony Kohlmann, S.J.[24] St. Mary's College, Baltimore, founded by the Sulpicians in 1799, and attached to the Seminary, had 20 instructors in 1819 and just less than 200 students. Mount St. Mary's, Emmitsburg, founded in 1808 by Father Dubois, S.S., with 7 students, had 60 students in 1805, and in 1818 was just emerging from a crisis that was only the prelude to a new life and a long and honorable career.[25] Kentucky boasted of two colleges, St. Joseph's at Bardstown, founded by Rev. George Elder in 1819, though classes were held in the basement of the Seminary until the first wing of the College was finished in 1820; and the second, St. Mary's near Lebanon, in Marion County, was just under way. Father Nerinckx secured a plot of land for it in 1820, and it was to be carried to a flourishing state by Rev. William Byrne, who in twelve years educated over 1,200 boys.[26].

Grassi, writing for Europeans, naturally takes a European viewpoint, and like other visitors to our shores is most impressed with the spirit of toleration both of the government

[24] Shea, *History of Georgetown College*, Washington, 1891, p. 54 sq.
[25] Herbermann, *Sulpicians in U. S., New York*, 1916, pp. 114, 131.
[26] Webb, *op. cit.*, pp. 276 and 282 sq.

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and of the people, as soon as Catholics and Catholicism became familiar to them in their true light.

The value of his little work for historians lies not so much in presentations of new facts as in his general picture of contemporary missionary life, its difficulties and hopes for the future.

It is an interpretation for the Old World of the New as he saw it from the inside during his seven important years in this country. It helps a little more to realize what we are, and to nourish a fair hope that we may be one day as much greater than we now are, as now we are greater than the infant church of 1819.

Grassi's subsequent life was spent in important positions in the Society in Italy from 1821 as Rector of the College in Turin, and later as Rector of the College of Propaganda and assistant to the General for Italy in Rome, where he impressed George Ticknor, who met him there, as "a man of talent and education."

He died at Rome, December 12, 1849.

J. WILFRID PARSONS, S J.,
Rome, Italy.

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BISHOP McQUAID OF ROCHESTER

HIS EPISCOPAL CAREER (1868–1902)

The beginnings of Bishop McQuaid's episcopate were not more promising of success than the early years of his life. Small as his diocese was with its thirty-nine priests, it was not too small for the brewing of more than ordinary trouble the very first year of its existence. The only other city in the diocese besides Rochester was the storm center. After a preliminary settlement of the O'Flaherty case in Auburn,[41] the storm broke out with renewed fury under the opposition of a small party of Malcontents that rallied about the removed and suspended pastor of the Church of the Holy Family. The church had to be closed until a great majority of the congregation organized to give the guarantee demanded by Bishop McQuaid for the maintenance of Catholic order and discipline. He was pleased finally to be able to communicate, April 8, 1869, his approval of a set of resolutions sent to him by these faithful Catholics.

> The resolutions at Markham Hall, in Auburn, on the first of April, signed then and afterwards by five hundred men (members of the parish of the Holy Family) are now before me.
>
> The language of the resolutions is the language of Catholics who know, acknowledge, and hold to the Faith and Discipline of the Catholic Church.
>
> That the Rev. Martin Kavanagh is not now living in that parish and attending to its spiritual wants is no fault of his, nor is it mine. He has been pastor of the church since the 15th day of February, but unable to enter on the discharge of his duties through the opposition, even to violence, of the Rev. Thomas O'Flaherty and his organized party of Malcontents.
>
> With great persistence they have maintained that this opposition was unanimous on the part of the congregation of the Holy Family. Telegraphic dispatches and newspaper reports have circulated this charge all over the country. Whence originated the dispatches and reports no one in Auburn needs to be told. It was the duty of the congregation thus calumniated to repel the calumny and justify their claim to the name of Catholic Congregation.
>
> Now that you have spoken and acted, and can no longer be misrepresented, I will request the Rev. Martin Kavanagh to return to Auburn, and I shall expect you to put him in possession of the Church and church-property, and to protect and maintain him in the peaceable exercise of his functions as Pastor of the Church of the Holy Family.
>
> If the misguided men who have made themselves conspicuous in the past weeks by their contempt for church discipline, disregard for the law, and loud and foul abuse of their Bishop should threaten to continue their trampling upon your rights as a congregation, then call to your assistance the proper civil authorities and with their help assert and maintain your rights.
>
> As matters now stand, no Catholic can be deceived as to the line of conduct it is his duty to follow; no member of your parish can stand on neutral

[41] Bishop McQuaid's Sermon in St. Mary's Church, February 28, 1869, *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, March 2, 1869.

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ground; he is for the Bishop and established discipline, or against the Bishop and for the law which the Rev. Thomas O'Flaherty has sought to establish. The stale story of O'Flaherty's permanent appointment by the Pope as Pastor and Dean may have deceived some for a time; no one is now deceived by it but those who are willing to be deceived. The story originated in the same prolific brain which gave birth to the other foundling that the Rev. Mr. Kavanagh had been removed from Auburn on a previous occasion by command of Cardinal Barnabo.

After an appeal to the American Protestant public, to mob law, to the Supreme Court, it will be waste of time and money to carry an appeal to Rome. Nor is it at all likely that the "intelligent and influential" mob that hooted a Bishop through the streets, that with fury of madmen hindered the celebration of Mass on the following morning, will be able to demonstrate to Rome the many excellencies and Christian virtues, the sound Catholic teaching and the usefulness of the labors of their late Pastor.[42]

Contrary to Bishop McQuaid's expectations, O'Flaherty carried his case to Rome, inasmuch as the Archbishop of New York failed to act on the strength of an appeal taken to the Metropolitan Court, March 25, 1869,[43] by the suspended priest, who persistently ignored the Diocesan Court established in the Diocesan Council. The Bishop's presence in Rome at the time, in attendance upon the Vatican Council, made it possible for him to take charge of the matter personally. "A few words of explanation at the Propaganda soon satisfied them with regard to O'Flaherty's character and acts. Still I hold it to be wrong for the Propaganda to entertain appeals when a priest refuses to have his case examined by the regularly appointed tribunal." Bishop McQuaid consoled himself with the thought that the Vatican Council would "in all probability regulate some of these matters. Instead of breaking down discipline, there is more likelihood of there being a straightening up in some points. Some who are clamorous for the rights of priests may find that there are rights also for bishops and people."[44]

The Vatican Council never reached matters of this kind, as its energies in the short period of its activity were largely concerned with the great question of papal infallibility. The opportuneness of the definition of this dogma did not appeal to Bishop McQuaid, who consistently joined the opposition on every possible occasion. "I am afraid," he wrote Dr. Corrigan,

[42] *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, April 13; from the *Auburn Morning News*, April 10, 1869.

[43] Metropolitan, New York. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Archbishop's House.

[44] Bishop McQuaid to Dr. Corrigan, Rome, February 6, 1870: Bishops to M. A. C., 1865–1883. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie Seminary.

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then of Seton Hall, "that there is a determination to pass abstract questions as decrees that may be true enough in themselves, but which will be highly injurious to us in America from the handle they will give our enemies. If I had not confidence in God's protecting hand, I would run from the Council in despair, so strangely ignorant are many men of what is going on in the world. We need the earnest prayers of all earnest Catholics."[45] Not only the decrees themselves, but also the methods pursued in the Council were objectionable in some respects to Bishop McQuaid and others. As early as December 12, 1869, twenty prelates, amongst whom were two Americans, Archbishop Kenrick of St. Louis and Bishop McQuaid of Rochster, presented a petition to the Holy Father, suggesting certain emendations in the published order of the Council to bring out more plainly the fulness of examination and the most perfect liberty of discussion within the Council.[46] These prelates also demanded, as modern times seemed to require, greater publicity despite the oath of secrecy exacted of the members of the Council. They received practically no satisfaction at the time,[47] but changes were later made in the published order of the Council,[48] and Cardinal Manning was released from the oath of secrecy that he might keep the British Cabinet informed through Odo Russell of the real state of affairs, so often misrepresented in the campaign of vilification then waged against the Council, while, also, a Bishop of the Italian, French, and German tongues was likewise freed from the oath of secrecy.[49]

At the beginning of 1870, when the petition for the definition of papal infallibility was being circulated, Bishop McQuaid's name appeared amongst the one hundred and thirty-six prelates of the opposition, in the petition of the twenty-seven bishops from English-speaking countries, twenty of whom were Americans, who asked the Holy Father not to submit the question of papal infallibility to the Council for definition.[50] The great majority

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] *Acta et Decreta Conciliorum. Collectio Lacensis*, Vol. vii, col. 915 *sqq.*

[47] *Ibid.*, Col. 917.

[48] February 20, 1870. *Ibid.*, Col. 67–69.

[49] CARDINAL MANNING, *Reminiscences of the Vatican Council*, 1887, in PURCELL, *Life of Cardinal Manning*, Vol. ii, p. 454; *cf.* note, September 18, 1887; *ibid.*, p. 455.

[50] *Acta et Decreta Conciliorum, Collectio Lacensis*, Vol. vii, Col. 947.

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of the prelates demanded the definition, and so the matter was submitted to the consideration of the Council, which finally, June 3, 1870, decided to close the general discussion "*De Romano Pontifice.*"[51] The very next day eighty-one prelates, amongst whom there were eight Americans and one of these, Bishop McQuaid, protested against this procedure,[52] but the protest was not admitted,[53] as the discussion had been ample almost beyond endurance and there was still room for five individual discussions, namely, on the proemium and the four chapters following. In the course of the fifth discussion a division was taken by mutual consent on July 13, when 451 voted the definition of papal infallibility, 88 voted against it, and 62 gave a conditional vote.[54] Bishop McQuaid was amongst the 88 who voted against the definition.[55]

A deputation of these prelates, who were not willing to define infallibility as proposed, waited upon the Holy Father in the evening of July 15 with a statement that they would vote in favor of infallibility, provided some changes were made in the Constitution on the Church of Christ.[56] Pius IX ordered Archbishop Darboy of Paris to reduce to writing what they desired. Chapter III, *On the Power and Nature of the Primacy of the Roman Pontiff*, teaches and declares "that, by the appointment of our Lord, the Roman Church possesses a sovereignty of ordinary power over all other churches, and that this power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, which is truly episcopal, is immediate; etc., etc." The opposition requested the suppression of the phrase that makes the power of jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff over all other churches "truly episcopal." The Canon concluding this chapter pronounces an anathema upon any "who assert that he possesses merely the principal part, and not all the fulness of this supreme power." The opposition also wished this phrase expunged. Finally Chapter IV, *Concerning the Infallible Teaching of the Roman Pontiff*, defines "that it is a dogma divinely revealed: that the Roman Pontiff, when he speaks *ex cathedra*,

[51] *Ibid.*, col. 748, Col. 984 *sqq.*
[52] *Ibid.*, col. 986 *sqq.*
[53] *Ibid.*, col. 988.
[54] *Ibid.*, col. 760.
[55] *Ibid.*, col. 1003.
[56] *Ibid.*, col. 1702.

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that is, when, in discharge of the office of pastor and teacher of all Christians, by virtue of his supreme apostolic authority, he defines a doctrine regarding the faith or morals to be held by the Universal Church, is, by the divine assistance promised to him in Blessed Peter, possessed of that infallibility with which the Divine Redeemer willed that his Church should be endowed in defining doctrine regarding faith or morals; etc., etc." Here the opposition wished an addition to be made so as to qualify the manner in which the Pope is to exercise his office as teacher of all Christians, namely, "resting on the testimonies of the Churches," or "by the use of means that had always been employed in the Catholic Church," or "Bishops not excluded." The evident purpose of all this was not to sacrifice episcopal prerogative to papal prerogative. Archbishop Darboy declared that nearly all the Fathers who had voted against papal infallibility in the General Congregation would vote *placet* in the Public Session if the desired changes were made.[57] Pius IX had the undersecretary of the Council refuse any such concessions as were requested, committing all to a General Congregation, but with definitive judgment reserved to himself. These Fathers then held meetings, July 16 and 17, and decided by a vote of thirty-six against twenty-eight to absent themselves from the Public Session, which was fixed for July 18, when the papal prerogatives of a universal primacy and of infallibility were to be publicly attested by a vote of *placet* or *non placet*.[58] Bishop McQuaid was not present at this session,[59] although he did not leave Rome until the evening of that day.[60] He had obtained permission from the Council, July 16, to leave without the obligation to return, "on account of several needs of his diocese most recently erected."[61] Bishop McQuaid made his way home as quickly as possible, and on August 28, 1870, gave the people in his Cathedral a good account of the definition of papal infallibility at the Council of the Vatican.

> The question is simple enough. The definition is clear enough. It answers objections as well as states the doctrine. . . . I have now no difficulty in accepting the dogma, although to the last I opposed it, because,

[57] *Ibid.*, col. 992.

[58] *Ibid.*, col. 1702 *sq.*

[59] *Ibid.*, col. 1003.

[60] Bishop Bayley to Dr. Corrigan, July 28, 1870; Bishops to M. A. C., 1865–1883. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie Seminary.

[61] *Acta et Decreta Conciliorum, Collectio Lacensis*, Vol. vii, col. 762b.

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somehow or other, it was in my head that the bishops ought to be consulted, and I know, my friends, that all you want is the truth of God's Church, and when the question so long unsettled was settled, it was a relief and a pleasure to the minds of many.[62]

Bishop McQuaid had advanced a real and not a fictitious excuse to be freed permanently of the obligation of further attendance at the Vatican Council. He was thoroughly conscious of "the needs of his diocese most recently erected," for he wrote late in life in a reminiscent mood: "When a Bishop's responsibility came to me, it did not take me long to see that my first duty was to take care of the children of the people, and as essential thereto the establishment of a teaching Sisterhood. . . . My second duty was to build up a seminary that was to give a priestly priesthood to the Church."[63] The O'Flaherty case and the Vatican Council had not permitted Bishop McQuaid to begin the realization of this ambitious program of work. Upon his return home he established all that he could at the time for ecclesiastical education, the Preparatory Seminary back of the Cathedral House. He also vigorously set to work upon building up a parochial school system of education that was to reach every Catholic child in districts of sufficient Catholic population to support a good parochial school. This meant the renewal of the school question, the agitation of which had ceased for quite a time, so that the resurrection of a seemingly dead issue was anything but welcome to certain circles even within the Catholic Church. "You may remember," he later wrote Bishop Gilmour of Cleveland, "how pacific and non-offensive ecclesiastics spoke of me when I raked the ashes off the smouldering school question and flamed the embers into a blaze. My own Archbishop was full of wise caution and Archbishop Bayley was afraid I was going too far. I send you by this mail a marked copy of one of our papers. The writer of the article, who is the editor himself, thinks that I was only a little in advance of my time."[64] A storm cleared the atmosphere for better action not only abroad but also at home. On December 19, 1870, Bishop McQuaid wrote Dr. Corrigan, who had come from Seton Hall College to assist at the solemn blessing

[62] *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, August 29, 1870.

[63] Bishop McQuaid to Mother Xavier, February 20, 1907, St. Elizabeth College Letters.

[64] February 25, 1887, No. 4, No. A, Bishops from 1872–1888, Cleveland Diocesan Archives.

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of the Cathedral by Archbishop McCloskey, and meanwhile returned home:

> I have had a rather lively time here since your visit, with not a little to annoy me. I requested the removal of the Sisters of Charity from the Asylum and Parochial School. The Brothers undertook to resent the action of the Bishop, and broke up their school, saying to the children that they would not wait to be kicked by the Bishop as the Sisters had been. Their acts and the talk of the departing Sisters, together with the ignorance of the laity and the malice of many, made quite a sensation for a couple of weeks.
>
> I would go through twice as much to bring about the change which has been effected. I shall now be able to have good parochial schools in this parish and in the city.
>
> A school-house will be built in this parish, another in the Immaculate Conception, and a third in St. Bridget's this coming year. Thus, little by little, the disgrace which now hangs over us will be removed.
>
> The Sisters of St. Joseph who are to be the Diocesan school teachers are doing very well, and promise great success in their work.[65]

The erection of new school buildings and the formation of a Diocesan Teaching Sisterhood constituted only a part of the work planned. Bishop McQuaid also boldly attacked the Public School System's monopoly of support out of public taxes in two great lectures on *Free Christian Schools* which he delivered to overcrowded audiences in the Corinthian Hall, Rochester, December 8, 1870, and March 15, 1872. He championed the rights of parents whose conscience would not allow them to send their children to schools where there was no Catholic instruction, no Catholic atmosphere, and much less to schools that were either Protestant or infidel, such as were the public schools of the time. He cited copiously from Protestant ministers and educators who argued strongly for support of their denominational academies, to which their richer co-religionists sent their children to be trained in the religion of their parents as well as in secular learning. Bishop McQuaid, however, was working for the rank and file of his Catholic people, and it was in fairness to them that he asked for an extension of the Public School System so as to embrace also the parochial school.[66]

> My proposition would still have a system of State schools. It does not purpose to disintegrate, but to extend. It would bring the State back to the starting point of an elementary education, and on that basis takes a "new

[65] Bishops to M. A. C., 1865–1883. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie Seminary.

[66] Two speeches published at once separately in English and German, and together in 1892 plus (1) *The Public School Question as Understood by a Catholic Citizen* before the Free Religious Association, February 13, 1876; (2) *Religion in Schools, North American Review*, April, 1881; (3) *Religious Teaching in Schools, Forum*, December, 1889.

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departure." Instead of the State having under its supervision only twenty schools, as here in Rochester, it would have a hundred and more; instead of having a limited number of teachers dependent on school commissioners and politicians only, there would be a much larger number dependent on the State for certificates for capacity and for results, and on the parents of the children for general success. Under the system proposed by me the State would have the right to decide on the fitness of the school building, furniture, etc., examine into the qualifications of teachers to impart a knowledge of the branches it pays for, fix the number of hours devoted to the study of these branches, inspect and examine the classes from time to time, and make such regulations as may be necessary to guard against abuses, misapplication of monies, etc. All schools receiving aid from the State should be under state supervision, leaving parents the liberty to regulate the management of the schools to which they elect to send their children after having complied with the requirements of the State.[67]

While this earnest plea for an equitable share of the taxes paid to the State by Catholics as well as by Protestants and others bore no fruit, Bishop McQuaid soon gave practical proof that it was possible for the State to control secular education without any interference with the religious activity of the parochial school. He had occasion later to explain to Cardinal Ledochowski how this was done through the Regents of the University of the State of New York.

Unless I am mistaken, the State of New York is the only one of the United States which has such a board of Regents in charge of their educational system. They have under their care the colleges, academies, and schools of the State. They in no way interfere in the religious working of our Catholic institutions of learning; only if these wish to put themselves under the University they can do so, and complying with certain conditions can obtain a certificate, a diploma, or a degree in secular studies, the same as the non-Catholic institutions of learning in the State. In the year 1874, the parochial school of the Cathedral of Rochester was the first to take advantage of the Regents' examination and win for its pupils the State's certificate. Now, all over the State, Catholic schools and academies, in secular studies, equal and even surpass the non-Catholic institutions of the same grade. By voluntarily accepting this supervision of the State, which we can do without the sacrifice of any principle, there has been a marvellous improvement in teacher and pupils. There is no place for partiality or favoritism; the questions and matter for examination are prepared at the governmental offices in Albany where the Regents have their bureau of administration, and are sent to all schools and academies that apply for them, Catholic and non-Catholic alike. We receive no money or support from the State as the State schools receive, but it is our ambition to show to our people and to others that our schools are as good and better than the State schools, even by their own tests.[68]

Bishop McQuaid could feel well satisfied with the results. Nevertheless, precisely at the time parochial school education was thus advantageously put under State control, he was vexed to find much lukewarmness even among the Catholic clergy for

[67] Bishop McQuaid to the Editor of the *Democrat and Chronicle*, March 22, 1872; *Union and Advertiser*, March 26, 1872.

[68] Bishop McQuaid to Cardinal Ledochowski, c., February, 1895. Original draft in my possession.

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the cause of Catholic education. An impending decision on the matter by Rome was welcome news to him, as he wrote Archbishop Bayley, June 29. 1874:

> I am glad that the moral duties of priests and parents with regard to Christian education of children are to be defined with some precision so that we may know exactly what course to follow. It is not pleasant to be put in the power of the hosts of young fledglings coming over from Rome bursting with conceit, or to be snubbed by laymen.
>
> What you tell me about the practice in Rome surprises me exceedingly. Rome is always sound in theory but dreadfully loose in practice, once the difficulties of the theories come home to herself. If it be true that in Rome, where Catholic schools abound, Catholic parents can send their children to State schools such as they now have, I don't see how I can be justified in the course which I now follow. So soon as a parish is provided with ample school-room, good teachers, and free of costs, I refuse absolution to all parents who send their children to the public schools. Without approving of the High School, I do not refuse absolution to those who send there, as we have no school of corresponding grade.
>
> The whole question will have to be settled on a well-defined basis up to which we shall have to live. I do not wish to be regarded as an extremist in my views, but, if I am right, some others are wrong. The expediency of agitating for our rights is another question. It would be better for us to be of one mind and work together. I do not see any prospect of bringing about unity of action, and I keep the discussion agoing in my own way wherever and whenever I can.[69]

Bishop McQuaid's vigorous Catholic school policy was practically maintained in the *Instruction on Public Schools* issued by the Congregation of the Holy Office for the Bishops of the United States, November 24, 1875. Its concluding sentence made it expressly "manifest from Catholic moral teaching that parents, who neglect to impart to their children this necessary Christian education and training, or who allow them to frequent such schools in which the ruin of souls is inevitable, or finally who, when there is a suitable school in the place, fittingly furnished and equipped, or when they have the means of giving a Catholic education to their offspring elsewhere, nevertheless send their children to public schools, without sufficient reason, and without the necessary precautions, by which the proximate danger of perversion is made remote, cannot be absolved in the Sacrament of Penance."[70] This was more than enough for Bishop McQuaid, and he took occasion to emphasize the point in the pastoral which he published, October 4, 1878, on the eve of his departure for his visit *ad limina* in Rome.

> No Catholic is in harmony with the Church who maintains opinions opposed to those teachings. It is absurd to say that one bishop more than

[69] Letters to Archbishop Bayley, No. 42, L to Z, Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

[70] *Collectanea S. Congregat. de Propag. Fide*, No. 481, pp. 204-5. Also *Acta Sanctae Sedis*, Vol. xi (1878), pp. 44–48.

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another insists on the establishment of Catholic schools. It is not left with bishops to choose in this matter. They receive commands from an authority higher than their own, and know that their duty, based on their faith and conscience, obliges them to urge the maintaining of Catholic schools wherever it is possible. The false idea that one diocese has a law on the subject different from another needs correction. The bishop who fails to teach and enforce with pastoral zeal and vigilance the Church's law of Catholic schools for Catholic children, sins; the pastor of a flock who, being able, neglects to provide such a school for the young ones, the weak, the helpless, the greatly exposed, sins; the members of a parish who refuse to cooperate according to their means in the establishment of a Catholic School for their children, sin.

. . . . . .

In the districts in which it is not possible to have a Catholic school, Catholic parents who have to make use of the common or public school, are obliged in conscience to make sure, by watchful examination and enquiry, that nothing is permitted in these schools contrary to Catholic faith and morals. To some extent they are protected in this right by the law of the State of New York, which forbids religious exercises of any kind during school hours. As any exercises that might be carried on by an over-zealous school teacher would necessarily be non-Catholic in character, Catholic parents are bound to guard their children from the efforts of these would-be proselytizers. Should the teachers and trustees be deaf to mild remonstrances, recourse must be had to the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of New York, whose duty it is to rebuke these bigots and breakers of the law.[71]

Bishop McQuaid's visit to Rome took place at a most critical moment in the development of the Catholic Church in America. Everlasting appeals to Rome seriously threatened episcopal government within the dioceses by undermining episcopal authority, and Rome was almost duped into legislating in favor of the Malcontents when Bishop McQuaid intervened "and then and there, by bold officiousness, staved off a great calamity of the American Church."[72] He kept Bishop Corrigan well informed of the matter at the time, who wrote the Archbishop of Baltimore, February 1, 1879:

The Bishop of Rochester has been fighting our battle bravely before the S. Congregation. At Cardinal Simeoni's request, he has written one or two memorials (the third being his own). The most important came to hand last night and is now in the hands of my Metropolitan.

The chief issue is this, "*Must* a Prelate consult the Commission before making *any* transfer of a pastor from church to church, against the will of the latter?

In Rome they had already decided *in the affirmative*, but postponed sending the answer. Meanwhile Bishop McQuaid was shown the letter all ready to be mailed, and begged a reconsideration of the question, or at least that the bishops here be written to before a final decision be made.

They asked him to remain in Rome until February 1, promising to have his Memorial printed, distributed to the Cardinals, and acted upon by that date. He sails from Liverpool, February 22.[73]

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[71] Printed in pamphlet form by *Waterloo Catholic Times Press.*

[72] Bishop McQuaid to Bishop Gilmour, April 12, 1885, Cleveland Diocesan Archives, No. 4, No. A, *Bishops from 1872 to 1888.*

[73] No. 46 C, Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

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Bishop McQuaid's worst fears were excited; he was afraid that the new legislation "would inflict very great injury on the Church in this country."[74] He did not spare himself to avert the disaster, and fortunately was able to intervene sufficiently before sickness disabled him from taking further part in the conflict. The anxiety which his letters aroused in Bishop Corrigan was finally relieved by another letter written by Bishop McQuaid to him from Paris, March 29, 1879:

> My strength is coming back gradually, and I have reason to hope that by the time I reach America I shall be myself again. I had a narrow escape.
>
> However, I was compensated for all my sufferings by the success of the great question before the Sacred Congregation.
>
> Until I got Cardinal Manning and the English bishops aroused, all seemed lost. Only two or three Cardinals of a dozen appeared inclined to take my view of the subject. Bilio was dead against us, and he is a power in the Congregation. My whole cry was for delay until the American bishops could be heard from. On my knees I begged the Holy Father not to permit this question to be settled without consulting the bishops of the U. S.
>
> He enquired about the matter when I took leave of him, and showed great satisfaction when told that all was according to our wish.
>
> I left Rome on the 11th of March. The day before the Congregation met and appointed Card. Simeoni and two others to draw up the letter of explanation of the "Instructio."[75]

On his arrival at home, Bishop McQuaid soon recovered his full strength. He awaited the text of the important document with considerable impatience; when it did arrive, it gave him all the satisfaction he had desired. "The *Instructio* as explained," he wrote Bishop Corrigan, December 2, 1879, "is not the great thing that some disaffected priests looked for. Fixity of tenure and immunity of discipline were what they wanted. Bishops and people were to have no rights as against their claims."[76] The Roman document made it perfectly plain that the *Instructio* of July 20, 1878, in regard to cases in which an ecclesiastical penalty or censure was to be inflicted or a grave disciplinary correction was to obtain, in no way altered or annulled the decrees of the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore, No. 125 on the Nature of Missions, and Nos. 77 and 108 on the Juridical Effects of the Removal of Missionaries from Office. Bishops, however, were instructed not to remove priests from one mission to another against their will without a grave and reasonable cause. In case

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[74] Bishop Corrigan to ——, January 4, 1879. *Ibid.*

[75] Bishops to M. A. C., 1865–1883. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie Seminary.

[76] *Ibid.*

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of a definitive removal of a rector from office because of a penalty to be inflicted for an offence, the Bishop was only to act after hearing his Council. Though its vote was only consultive, the opinion of the Council was always to be inserted in the process together with the minutes of the investigation. Nevertheless, bishops were not deprived of the power to proceed to suspension *ex informata conscientia*, provided they judged in the Lord that most grave and canonical causes concurred, or that a remedy had to be procured without hearing the Council because of grave and urgent necessity for the salvation of souls. Finally, each rector was free to bring with him before the Council another priest to witness the proceedings or to assist in his defence, but this priest had to be approved by the Bishop.[77]

Neither the *Instructio* nor the *Responsa ad dubia* gave the bishops of the United States immunity from harassing appeals to Rome when they encountered trouble in their efforts to discipline recalcitrant members of their clergy. This condition of affairs, besides other things, made new conciliar legislation advisable in this country, and on February 27, 1883, Bishop McQuaid informed Bishop Gilmour of the preparatory work that he was doing for prospective legislation by a provincial council of New York: "I am now writing a long letter to Cardinal Simeoni asking for information on certain points connected with the *Instructio* and the *Responsa ad dubia*. I tell him that I do so as a member of the commission *de disciplina* preparing the matter for the Council; that I wish to clear up all difficulties for the correct and smooth working of the *Instructio*. His answers, if I can get them, will settle many things to our great comfort."[78] The Fourth Provincial Council of New York had been called for June 3,[79] but the bad health of the Cardinal, Archbishop McCloskey, made necessary its postponement till the following September.[80] The first solemn session was held Sunday, September 23. After the Solemn Mass in the presence of the Cardinal, Bishop McQuaid preached to the people on provincial councils.[81] Even

[77] *Acta Sanctae Sedis.*

[78] Cleveland Diocesan Archives, No. 4, No. A, *Bishops from 1872 to 1888.*

[79] Cf. Litterae Indictionis Concilii in Acta et Decreta Concil. Provin. IV Neo-Eboracensis, p. xv *sq.*

[80] *Ibid.*, p. xvii.

[81] *Ibid.*, p. xxx *sq.*

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before the Council the legislation submitted to its discussion had received careful attention and criticism from bishops and theologians,[83] and so the final work of the Council could be pushed on without being hampered by hardly any delay. The pastoral letter addressed to the laity by the united Episcopate of the Province, mainly the work of Bishop O'Farrell of Trenton,[84] insisted just as vigorously as Bishop McQuaid's Pastoral of 1878 on the uncompromising hostility of the Church to secret oath-bound societies and to "any system of public instruction from which religion is totally excluded."[84] These matters, as well as others affecting the laity, received full attention in the decrees of the Council, in the formulation of which no diversity of opinion was apparent. The same spirit of unanimity is also evident in the making of the decrees dealing with the life of the clergy, except in regard to one particular, the fifteenth Chapter, *De Vita Clericorum*,[85] which was amongst the matter apportioned to the congregation *De Personis Ecclesiasticis* under the presidency of Bishop McQuaid.[86] The chapter specified in great detail the *causa gravis et rationabilis* necessary for the removal of a rector from one mission to another even against the rector's will. The Cardinal in the fourth private congregation of the bishops, September 26, proposed the omission of this matter from the decrees of the Council, as it was to enter into the deliberations of the Metropolitans summoned to Rome for November to prepare for a National Council. The Bishop of Buffalo, however, thought it worth while to retain this matter, as thus would appear what was desired in this region. The Cardinal then consented to have the matter remain as it had been formulated on condition that a note be added to the effect that the article had been drawn up before the archbishops were summoned to Rome. This pleased all the bishops in the Provincial Council of New York.[87] The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore almost totally eclipsed this Fourth Provincial Council of New York, the proceed-

[83] *Ibid.*, p. xxx: viii Coetus Praeparatorius Episcoporum et Theologorum.

[84] *Ibid.*, p. xxiv: vi Coetus Praeparatorius Epp.; p. xxxiv: x congregatio, privata epp. prima.

[84] *Ibid.*, pp. xlvii–lxviii.

[85] *Ibid.*, p. 74 *sq.*

[86] *Ibid.*, p. xxviii.

[87] *Ibid.*, p. xxxvi; *cf.* note, p. 74.

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ings of which seem to have been pigeon-holed by the Propaganda. As late as January 18, 1886, Bishop McQuaid informed Archbishop Corrigan that he had written "a pretty sharp letter" to a friend resident in Rome "in relation to the ignoring of the Provincial Council of New York, giving permission to communicate its contents where they may do good."[88] Its Acts and Decrees were finally acted upon by the Congregation of the Propaganda, July 8, 1886, and approved by Pope Leo XIII three days later.[89]

The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore opened in the Cathedral of Baltimore, Sunday, November 9, and closed a month later, December 7, 1884. Its legislation is grouped together under eleven titles. Beginning with Faith, they deal with the Persons of the Church, Divine Worship, the Sacraments, the Training of the Clergy, the Education of the Catholic Youth, Christian Doctrine, Zeal for Souls, Church Property, Ecclesiastical Courts, and Ecclesiastical Burial. The Schema of legislation prepared under these heads by the Roman authorities with the help of the American archbishops was divided up and distributed among twelve deputations of theologians to pass through a committee stage before coming up for final action in the Plenary Council itself. Bishop McQuaid belonged to the Fourth Deputation under the presidency of Archbishop Corrigan, which had assigned to it the legislation on Regulars, the Faculty of Binating Mass, Uniformity in Feasts and Fasts, the Observance of Sunday, Sacred Music, and the Baptism of Converts. This covered all the matter of the Title on Divine Worship, the last chapter of the Title on the Persons of the Church, and the first chapter of the Title on the Sacraments.[90] The most important part of the legislation submitted to this Fourth Deputation was the chapter on Regulars. Bishop McQuaid had followed with keen interest the conflict between the English Hierarchy and the Regulars, which ended in the settlement of their mutual relations in the matter of church property by the Holy See in the Constitution "Romanos Pontifices," issued May 8, 1881.[91] An

[88] *Bishops and Dignitaries*, 1886–1887, to M. A. C. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie Seminary.

[89] Cf. Decretum Recognitionis Concilii Provincialis Neo Eboracensis IV, July 15, 1886, in *Acta et Decreta*, etc., p. xi.

[90] *Acta et Decreta Concil. Plen. Balt. III*, p. xxvi *sqq*.

[91] *Ibid.*, p. 212 *sqq*.

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extension of the provisions of this constitution to the Church of the United States was earnestly desired there, and the Holy See had already signified its readiness freely to grant a petition to that effect.[92] Consequently the legislation of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore on Regulars was based primarily on this Constitution.[93] Thus the bishops of the United States profited of the labors of the English Hierarchy for a satisfactory settlement of a pressing question in various portions of this country.

The Plenary Sessions of the Council gave Bishop McQuaid the occasion to make his voice and vote tell in the settlement of many other points of legislation. Repeated visitations of his own diocese had made Bishop McQuaid familiar with them so that he could take part in the debate on the ceremonial to be followed in this work with advantages not possessed by many others.[94] When the right of suffrage for filling a vacancy in an episcopal see was considered in the Council, Bishop McQuaid was in favor of giving a vote in this matter also to the Chancellor, the Deans, the Rector of the Cathedral, and the Superiors of Seminaries,[95] but the approved decrees limited the proposition of three names for the vacant bishopric to the consultors and the irremovable rectors.[96] Both these classes of clerics occasioned considerable discussion in the Council. Though the Schema had *consensus* in some things, the bishops were unwilling to be dependant on the Diocesan Consultors for anything more than counsel, and Bishop McQuaid thought that their counsel was always to be given by them as a body.[97] When great reluctance was shown by the Council to the creation of irremovable rectors, the Bishop of Rochester gave testimony that he had advised the institution of such rectors in place of chapters when he was last in Rome.[98] The approved decrees made imperative the

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[92] *Ibid.*, p. 47; *cf.* Decretum Extensionis, p. cv.

[93] *Ibid.*, pp. 47–49.

[94] [Private] *Acta et Decreta Concilii Plen. Balt. Tertii*, p. xxix ad num. 18: Congregatio Prima Privata, Feria II, Die 10 November.

[95] *Ibid.*, p. lii: Congregat. 13 Privata, Feria II, Die 24 November.

[96] [Public] *Acta et Decreta*, p. 12, No. 15.

[97] [Private] *Acta et Decreta.* Congregat. 4 Privata, Feria VI, Die 14 November ad. num. 23.

[98] *Ibid.*, Congregat. 8, Feria IV, Die 18 November, pp. xl–xliii.

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creation of irremovable rectors within three years.[99] In this matter the bishops seemed especially fearful of the results as far as discipline was concerned. Malcontents had made every effort to claim irremovability even before the creation of irremovable rectors, and Bishop McQuaid in 1878-79, saved the day for the authority of bishops by obtaining a reconsideration of the *Instructio* of July 20, 1878, in the *Responsa ad Dubia*. However, in 1884 these documents were superseded by another Instruction of the Propaganda, *Cum Magnopere*, which formed the basis of the new conciliar legislation submitted to the deliberation of the assembled prelates. A determined effort was made to escape the necessity of episcopal courts for the trial of clerics along the lines prescribed. Some held that the matter had been definitively settled by the Propaganda, but Bishop McQuaid, not without support from others, said that it was their right and duty to point out the difficulties under which the new method labored, which he thought would hardly bring the guilty to punishment.[100] Finally, the Archbishops of St. Louis, of Boston, and of Petra, the Bishops of Richmond, Rochester, and Trenton, and the Vicar-Apostolic of Dakota were appointed humbly to petition the Holy Father to have the old form of trials in clerical cases retained.[101] Bishop McQuaid also took exception to the inquisitional methods recommended in the Schema for the extra-judicial procedure in the criminal cases of clerics; he recommended the substitution of other words designating an honest and legitimate investigation. The Archbishop of Boston also thought that some of the passage ought to be suppressed; he suggested that this part of the minutes of the Council should not be sent to Rome unless the petition of the Council for the retention of the old form of ecclesiastical trials was rejected by the Holy See. All voted the suggestion thus made, and for this reason a loose sheet was printed of this part of the minutes of the Council to be inserted or omitted from the copy to be presented to Rome according to circumstances.[102] However, the authorities there insisted on the erection of the

[99] [Public] *Acta et Decreta*, p. 22, No. 35.

[100] [Private] *Acta et Decreta*. Congregat. 26 Private, Feria V, 4 December, p. lxxxvi *sq*.

[101] *Ibid*., p. xci.

[102] *Ibid*., Quaedam ex Actis quae una cum Schemate Novo typis impresso vulgata non fuerunt. *Cf*. [Public] *Acta et Decreta*, p. 176.

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prescribed Episcopal Courts within three years after the promulgation of the Council, unless a further dispensation was obtained from the Propaganda. In this case the trial of clerics was to follow the procedure in the *Instructio* of July 20, 1878, and its interpretation in the *Responsa ad dubia*.[103]

The sad necessity of such legislation emphasized all the more the need of giving the best possible training to candidates for the Holy Priesthood in the Preparatory as well as in the Higher Seminary. The Schema even prescribed the establishment of villas to take care of the ecclesiastical students in the higher seminaries during the vacation. Bishop McQuaid took an active part in the discussion which led to a considerable modification of this part of the Schema. He did not believe in villas as the only means to preserve students, both before and after the reception of orders, immune from the danger of sin. Vacation was a time to test students to see what kind of priests they are going to make. This country's conditions were not those of Italy; our priests are thrown at once into the midst of dangers as soon as ordained, and they must have given proof before that they know how to conduct themselves in the world.[104] Despite his interest in ecclesiastical education and training, Bishop McQuaid begged to be excused from serving as a member of the Committee on Seminaries;[105] he vigorously criticized, however, the failure of the Schema to put more emphasis on the study of English;[106] he failed finally to reorganize his own Preparatory Seminary in accordance with the new legislation, as he thought "the Plenary Council enjoined a course of studies and demanded an excellence of attainment simply impossible in nine cases out of ten."[107] Nevertheless, Bishop McQuaid later wrote in terms of highest commendation of this part of the work done by the Council.

> The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore has decreed largely and in detail what courses of study are to be followed in these two Seminaries, the preparatory and the higher. These courses cover the ground well. The Council

[103] [Public] *Acta et Decreta*, p. 170 *sq*, Nos. 297 and 298.

[104] [Private] *Acta et Decreta*. Congregat. 16 Privata, Feria IV, 26 November, p. lix.

[105] *Ibid.*, November 24, p. liii.

[106] [Private] *Acta et Decreta*. Congregat. 15 Privata, Feria III, die 25 November, p. lvi.

[107] Bishop McQuaid to Rev. ——. Inclosed in letter to Bishop Gilmour, February 20, 1887. Cleveland Diocesan Archives, No. 4, No. A, *Bishops from 1872 to 1888*.

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> decrees that not less than six years shall be spent in following them. Perhaps the Council was in advance of its day in prescribing six full years; then it could not have meant seriously that the course of study it mapped out should be completed in less time. The chapter on our higher Seminaries is overflowing with wise prescriptions for conduct and studies. Its courses of studies are much the same as are followed in the Propaganda and the best schools in Rome; they are the same as the studies insisted on in all the higher seminaries lately sanctioned by the Sacred Congregation of Studies in Padua, in Spain, Mexico, and Maynooth, with the annexed condition of conferring academic degrees on their successful students. There is no reason to suppose that the same privilege will be withheld from other well-organized Seminaries asking for it.[108]

In fact one of the reasons of Bishop McQuaid's opposition to the Catholic University at Washington was the endeavor of its first promoters to make the faculty of giving degrees a monopoly of that institution. He felt that "this is too big a country, with a marvellous growth year by year, to be restricted by such fetters as it was proposed to put on the Church in these U. S."[109] Moreover, Bishop McQuaid then thought the Diocesan Seminary the question of the hour in ecclesiastical education in America.

> It is at this time that some are calling aloud for the establishment of a grand Catholic University, and of a Theological Seminary for extended and higher studies. An essential condition preparatory to the founding of such a university is to know that there are young men willing and ready to take advantage of its facilities of a university course of study. A second condition lies in the getting together of a large sum of money sufficient to place the University on a solid financial basis. A University, in a rich country like America, cannot go abegging among the poor and rich; Catholics show no inclination to rival non-Catholics by endowing educational institutions. We must wait and pray for a change in both respects before the dream of a Catholic University, except in name, can be realized.
>
> The founding of a Theological School for higher studies is more feasible and is nearer at hand than that of the University. It may lead the way to the University. But antecedent to the founding of this Theological University will be the establishing of Diocesan Seminaries to answer the ordinary and usual wants of a diocese and to serve as feeders to the higher school. This is the primary necessity, and is according to the mind of the Church and the instructions of Rome.

This was written in the Pastoral on the Seminary Collection, August 20, 1882, and it is remarkable how closely the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore assembled two years later parallels these suggestions of Bishop McQuaid in the chapter of its decrees *De Seminario Principali*, from which, as from a seed, the University was to grow.[110] When the promoters of the University went beyond the decrees of the Council, opposition naturally arose, and even increased in strength, as policies were espoused

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[108] Bishop McQuaid, *Our American Seminaries*, in the *Am. Eccl. Rev.*, May, 1887, p. 467 *sq.*

[109] Bishop McQuaid to ——, December 28, 1887. Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

[110] [Private] *Acta et Decreta*, p. lxxix; [Public] *Acta et Decreta*, p. 93.

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by University men hostile to Bishop McQuaid's thought and life. Unfortunately, for instance, the Parochial School System vigorously championed at the Catholic University of Washington today was not always a cause so strongly espoused there. Despite this and actual financial ruin so often prophesied by Bishop McQuaid, every Catholic today would be pleased to see the University develop into a great institution of learning, productive of scholarly dissertations and reviews of the rank and grade attained by the great Catholic universities of Europe.

The Third Plenary Council of Baltimore was itself emphatic enough on the Catholic school question. Obligatory attendance, however, at the parochial school also raised some discussion there. Bishop McQuaid denied the existence of any obligation of the kind, if there were no suitable Catholic school. However, if there were such a school, parents transgressing the law might rightly be refused the Sacraments.[111] The final decrees of the Council not only urged, but commanded parents to send their children to the parochial school unless the Ordinary allowed otherwise in a particular case.[112] There was, nevertheless, no intention to claim a monopoly of Catholic education for the parochial school. For the Archbishop of Philadelphia judged any school to be Catholic in which persons of Catholic faith and life taught Christian doctrine besides letters; Bishop McQuaid desired the establishment of many schools of this kind.[113] The Council naturally left it to the judgment of the Ordinary to determine what school was a Catholic school.[114]

The Council also gave thought to the improvement of Catholic journalism. Bishop McQuaid was appointed to the committee in charge of the matter.[115] The public decrees of the Council recommended one paper for each province to be supported financially by the Bishops of the Province if need be. A Catholic daily was also recommended for each large city, though it was not neces-

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[111] [Private] *Acta et Decreta.* Congregat. 17 Privata, Feria IV, Die 26 November, p. lxii.

[112] [Public] *Acta et Decreta,* p. 100*sq,* No. 196.

[113] [Private] *Acta et Decreta.* Congregat. 18 Privata, Feria VI, Die 28 November, p. lxiv.

[114] [Public] *Acta et Decreta,* p. 104, No. 199.

[115] [Private] *Acta et Decreta.* Congregat. 20 Privata, Sabbato, Die 29 November P. M.

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sary to go by the name of Catholic, provided it judiciously seized the occasion to defend Catholic doctrine from attack and calumny, and carefully kept from its readers news unfit to be read.[116] Past experience made the prelates of the Council warn the faithful against newspaper writers who claim the name Catholic for their organs, but use their opportunities to discredit the authorities governing the Church.[117] Writers of that character did not hesitate at times even to make use of the secular press for the same purpose. This, in fact, was the reason why Bishop McQuaid waxed indignant at the doings of a press agent in reporting to the *New York Sun* a discussion on church revenue within the Council in a way to put the action of some of the prelates in an odious light.[118] Although the reporter touched upon most of the points in the discussion, he omitted to mention one that was much debated on this occasion, namely, dancing connected with banquets for the promotion of pious works. Contrary to the opinions advanced by some, yet not without support from others, Bishop McQuaid declared that there was danger latent in passing too many and too rigorous laws. He thought that dancing could be safely indulged in, out in the country, under due safeguards, as otherwise the young folk would attend the dances of non-Catholics.[119] Nevertheless, the Council finally ordered priests to see to the total abolition of all banquets with balls for the promotion of pious works.[120]

Greater freedom was taken by the Council with the first chapter of Title VIII, which was originally headed "Of Italian Immigrants." It precipitated an earnest discussion that led to the significant change of this chapter to the more general title "Of Colonists and Immigrants." Bishop McQuaid and others thought that the whole chapter of the original Schema ought to be expunged; he saw no reason why they should be so solicitous of the Italians; care must be taken of all immigrants. Finally, a committee, composed of Archbishops Corrigan and Riordan, the

[116] [Public] *Acta et Decreta*, p. 126, No. 227.

[117] *Ibid.*, p. 129, No. 231.

[118] Copied from the *Sun* into the *London Tablet*. *Cf.* Bishop McQuaid to ——, January 28, 1886. Baltimore Cathedral Archives.

[119] [Private] *Acta et Decreta*. Congregat. 25 Privata, Feria IV, Die 3 December. P. M., p. lxxxvi.

[120] [Public] *Acta et Decreta*, p. 167, No. 290.

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Bishops of Rochester, Peoria, and New Orleans, was appointed to rewrite the whole chapter.[121]. A little later these prelates reported that they could speak but despairingly of Italian colonists, for whom no help could be hoped except through societies established in Italy itself. They therefore recommended writing to the Holy Father a clear statement of the whole Italian situation in this country.[122] Special care had also to be taken of the Negroes and Indians. The expenses of this work were to be provided for by a collection. Bishop McQuaid thought it better to have two collections in churches, one for these missions and the other for the parish, although, if the matter were understood by the people and only one collection was taken up, he thought a part of the collection might be retained for the church.[123] To expedite matters, the Archbishop of Cincinnati and the Bishop of Rochester advised the formation of a commission of prelates having Indians and Negroes in their dioceses; let them come to an agreement under the presidency of the Archbishop of San Francisco and form a law to be approved by the Council. This was also done.[124] Finally, under this Title VIII, the Council also dealt with the danger to Catholics from secret societies. The difficulty was to determine what societies were of this character. This was precisely the reason why there was so much discussion on the standing of the Ancient Order of Hibernians. Bishop McQuaid proposed a settlement of the question by the appointment of three bishops with instructions to inquire into the nature and character of this society and to report the results of their investigation to the Council. The Archbishops of Chicago, Philadelphia, and San Francisco were appointed to do this work, with whom then the Archbishop of Baltimore was also associated.[125] Bishop McQuaid referred thus to the results in writing later to Archbishop Corrigan:

> The Council very peremptorily declined to act in the matter under the suggestion of the Archbishops of Philadelphia, Chicago, St. Louis, and San Francisco, relegating the whole question to a committee composed of the archbishops of the country. Without their united action, as I understand

[121] [Private] *Acta et Decreta.* Congregat. 21 Privata, Feria II, Die 1 December, p. lxxi *sq.*

[122] *Ibid.*, Congregat. 27 Privata, Feria V, Die 4 December, P. M., p. xcii.

[123] *Ibid.*, Congregat. 21 Privata, Feria II, Die 1 December, p. lxxv.

[124] *Ibid.*, Congregat. 29 Privata, Feria VI, Die 5 December, P. M., p. xcvi.

[125] *Ibid.*, Congregat. 22 Privata, Feria II, 1 December, P. M., p. lxxviii.

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> the decision of the Council, nothing could be done. It is the *reserved privilege* of the archbishops, not individually, but in concert and in a body to examine and decide this question of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the A. O. H. . . . I sought the assistance of the Council in putting an end to diversity of conduct on the part of bishops toward the A. O. H. The Council chose in preference to bury the business where I am inclined to think it will be buried.[126]

On the conclusion of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, it was necessary to obtain the approbation of Rome before the decrees could be promulgated as the law of the American Church. There was considerable misgiving about the action Rome would take in regard to some of the modifications of the Schema submitted to the Council for legislation. Bishops Dwenger and Moore were finally selected as envoys to present the Acts and Decrees of the Council to the authorities at Rome and to work for their approval, although there had been some talk of sending Bishops McQuaid and Gilmour. However, Bishop McQuaid wrote the latter, December 27, 1884: "I felt quite certain that after my action in the Ancient Order case I would be considered a dangerous man to send to Rome by their Graces of St. Louis, Philadelphia, and Chicago. I think they and others are a little afraid of me. Perhaps it is just as well for me not to go, but if Archbishop Corrigan and yourself could go, some good would certainly come out of your representation. If we cannot have a strong representation in members of our body, it would be better to have no one there. It will not answer for anyone to go unless officially. He would be snubbed and sent home. But we can write. I propose to write at length to Cardinal Simeoni soon after the departure of our envoys."[127] Under considerable pressure Bishop Gilmour was finally also duly accredited, and providentially so. Bishop Dwenger proved hopelessly unfit for the work; Bishop Moore lacked initiative, but ably seconded the efforts of Bishop Gilmour, who saved an important portion of the work of the Council by a direct appeal to the Holy Father.[128]

Soon after this Rome put Bishop McQuaid in charge of a case that gave him another opportunity to render signal services to the American Church. He informed Bishop Gilmour of it,

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[126] March 15, 1886. *Bishops and Dignitaries, 1886-1887.* New York Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie Seminary.

[127] Cleveland Diocesan Archives, No. 4, No. A, *Bishops from 1872 to 1888.*

[128] Bishop Gilmour to Bishop McQuaid, November 5, 1885. *Ibid., Letters,* Vol. v, October 3, 1884, to January 11, 1887; also *Protest of Bishops Moore and Gilmour,* October 3, 1885. *Ibid.,* No. 4, No. A, *Bishops from 1872 to 1888.*

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January 14, 1886: "Rome sent me a case of a priest in the diocese of Albany against the parish where he had formerly been pastor to adjudicate definitely and without appeal. It has been in dispute about fourteen years. It has been and is still before the civil courts. Before taking up the case I required the plaintiff to withdraw the case from the secular courts. Of course he refused. So I sent back the case to Rome, as there was in this country a higher court than that of Rome to which recalcitrant priests might appeal against unfavorable sentences of ecclesiastical courts."[129] Bishop McQuaid pursued the matter further in writing to Bishop Gilmour, February 9, 1886: "You will do me and yourself a favor by sending me the names of priests that have within a few years past brought their bishops into the *civil* courts, either against them personally or churches under their care. Names, approximate dates at least, and leading features of the case; a few lines will suffice. I want to present as formidable an array as possible to Rome to lead to special legislation on this subject. I will write to half a dozen bishops that I can trust."[130] When the Memorial for Rome was duly prepared, Bishop Gilmour received a summary of its contents, April 17, 1886.

> It is a long document containing American law on the subject, twenty cases of clerics sueing bishops and church corporations, the scandals arising therefrom, and the heavy expenses incurred from such suits.
>
> The whole mischief has come from a faulty interpretation put on the 156th decree of the Second Plenary Council by our learned *American Canonists*. I write that if the 84th decree of the Third means no more than the other thus interpreted, the evil will grow in magnitude. It is quite sure, however, that Rome will come out with a very strong letter of Instruction, similar to the one published by the Sacred Penitentiary (?) through Cardinal Monaco, bearing date January 23, 1886, which no doubt you have seen.[131]

Bishop McQuaid's expectations were fully realized. On July 13, 1886, Cardinal Simeoni wrote him the decision of the Sacred Congregation of the Propaganda, which plainly declared that it would never admit the recourse or appeal of priests who dared to cite before lay judges either a cleric without the permission of the Ordinary or a bishop without the permission of the Holy See, whether in an ecclesiastical cause or not, unless they first abandoned the recourse taken to the civil court. According to the explanation of the chapter *Cogentes*, published by the

[129] *Ibid.*, No. 4, No. A, etc.
[130] *Ibid.*
[131] *Ibid.*

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Congregation of the Inquisition, January 23, 1886, bishops can punish such clerics with penalties and censures *ferendae sententiae*, especially with suspension *a divinis*. If Ordinaries are asked for permission to convene a cleric before a lay court, they are not to refuse it, especially when they have tried in vain to settle the dispute between the parties contending.[132] This reply suited Bishop McQuaid, and on August 2, 1886, he wrote Bishop Gilmour: "I am acting on it in the case of O'Sullivan *vs.* St. Mary's Church of Hudson. It will cover the case of Early *vs.* St. Patrick's Church of Rochester. It turns out that his bishop is backing him bravely. I have always felt that Bishop Ryan was at the bottom of my trouble, but others are beginning to see it as well."[133] Bishop McQuaid had already written Bishop Gilmour the great general results he expected from the Propaganda's decision: "It will put a stop to civil suits in the future except by scalawags who contemn the Church."[134]

This did not end trouble between bishops and priests within the Church itself. Bishop McQuaid's main difficulty was Father Lambert, a man who had put not only Catholics but also positive Protestants deeply in debt to himself by his famous *Notes on Ingersoll*. A *Thesaurus Biblicus* with other writings, editorial labors on his own Waterloo paper, *The Catholic Times*, on the *Philadelphia Catholic Times*, finally on the *Freeman's Journal*, gave Father Lambert a prominent literary standing before the American public. In the Diocese of Rochester, however, since Bishop McQuaid's return from Rome in 1879, Father Lambert became an active factor in fostering trouble for the head of the diocese, sometimes openly, but more often secretely and insidiously. His conduct finally led Bishop McQuaid to confine his sphere of activity within the Diocese to very narrow limits by a letter dated April 7, 1881:

> I hereby restrict the exercise of your faculties to the limits of your mission of Waterloo.
>
> I also direct you not to be present at any other 40 hours' devotion than your own.
>
> For placing these restrictions on you there are excellent reasons which render them advisable and even necessary.[135]

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[132] *Acta et Decreta Concil. Provin. Neo Eboracen*, IV, p. 85 *sq.*

[133] Cleveland Diocesan Archives, No. 4, No. A, *Bishops from 1872 to 1888*.

[134] Same to same, July 26, 1886. *Ibid.*

[135] New York Archdiocesan Archives, Metropolitan New York, Archbishop's House.

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Father Lambert's appeal to the Cardinal Archbishop of New York, April 9, 1881, was not more successful than his appeal to the Propaganda three years later. The very next day after Bishop McQuaid received this decision from Rome, he informed Bishop Gilmour of its substance December 17, 1884: "The Bishop is not obliged to grant faculties to a priest for the whole diocese; and can consequently limit them to a particular mission."[126] Father Lambert now waited till March 20, 1888, before he again had recourse to Rome. Then he addressed his letter of complaint to Cardinal Simeoni, the Prefect of the Propaganda. The latter naturally corresponded with Bishop McQuaid, who finally put down his own demands in the case, May 16, 1888:

1. Rev. Mr. Lambert must apologize to the Vicar-General of the Diocese and to the former Rector of the Cathedral for the insults offered them in his newspaper.
2. He must acknowledge before the priests of the Diocese that he did not know that I was the writer of the articles signed "A Catholic," and consequently that he did not intend to designate me as a *Tartuffe, an immoral hypocrite.*
3. A transfer to another mission is demanded in behalf of the temporal and spiritual interests of his present charge.
4. A check upon his disposition to form parties and create factions in the diocese is necessary.
5. In view of the fact that Rev. Mr. Lambert was never properly released from Alton, the diocese of his ordination, it would be better for him to go back to it, or if this arrangement cannot be made, let him go to some other diocese for whose bishop he may be able to have more respect than he has for the Bishop of Rochester.[127]

The reply from Rome was anything but what had been expected by Father Lambert and his expert adviser, Dr. Burtsell. Cardinal Simeoni sent his letter, dated July 31, 1888, to Father Lambert through Bishop McQuaid. The Prefect of the Propaganda wrote:

After receiving your appeal against the Bishop of Rochester, opportune information was gathered which has furnished elements sufficient for pronouncing judgment. Already in August, 1884, a letter was sent to you setting aside your claim, and now after your last deductions the decision then rendered is in no way to be modified. However, there are many reasons for not receiving your appeal. Among those which might be adduced, it will suffice to note the following. You know well that those ordained "*titulo missionis*" must obtain the permission of this Sacred Congregation in order to be released from their diocese and admitted into another, as appears from a decree of this same Congregation given on the 4th of February, 1873, and transcribed in the Appendix of the III Council of Baltimore, page 210. If one thus ordained *titulo missionis* has taken the oath to serve a certain diocese, then the simple permission of the Sacred Congregation does not suffice, but a dispensation must then be obtained. Now from the documents transmitted by you to this Sacred Congregation it does not appear that you have fulfilled the afore-

[126] Cleveland Diocesan Archives, No. 4, No. A, *Bishops from 1872 to 1888.*

[127] Original draft in my possession.

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said prescriptions and of a consequence you are not legally incorporated in the Diocese of Rochester, but remain as yet bound to the Diocese of Alton. Affairs standing thus, you have no right to advance any complaint against Monsignor McQuaid's method of procedure in your regard.[138]

As soon as Bishop McQuaid had ascertained the fact that Father Lambert had been ordained for the Alton Diocese and had not obtained the permission of the Propaganda to change to another diocese, he dismissed Father Lambert from the Diocese of Rochester.[139] When Father Lambert pursued his case personally at Rome, whither Bishop McQuaid had also gone for this business as well as for his decennial visit *ad limina*, the Propaganda had to admit a legal mistake in applying to Father Lambert's case a law which had been passed years after his ordination. Otherwise Bishop McQuaid had a strong case against Father Lambert, who failed to be reinstated in Waterloo, and had to make an act of submission, but in rather general terms: "Hereby I retract fully and without reserve whatever I have written directly or indirectly against the said Rt. Rev. Bishop, and hereby I want to repair the scandal in this my act of retractation of the said writings."[140]

Even this did not stop Father Lambert's old tactics of covert attacks and insinuations against Bishop McQuaid. One of these had to do with the Bishop's attitude towards the newly established Apostolic Delegation at Washington. Before its actual establishment Bishop McQuaid was not in favor of such an institution. As early as February 15, 1877, he wrote Bishop Corrigan:

The "Apostolic Delegate" business is a very serious one, and one destined to make trouble if followed up. Instead of keeping our warm love for Rome, it will have a contrary effect. The only reason for the change that I have heard has been to lessen appeals to Rome. Will he lessen them? I doubt it. But he will have complied with certain forms of procedure better than bishops now comply with them, Rome will have to take into account our peculiar condition and adapt her regulations to it. The attempt to carry out the requirements of the *old* canon law will end in disaster to religion. Protestants now congratulate us on our method of washing our dirty linen at home and out of sight of strangers. Of course priests have a right to justice, and to exemption from injustice on the part of a bishop, old, feeble, or likely to be

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[138] Copy of original in my possession; *cf. Lambert's Summarium*, p. 38 *sq.*

[139] Bishop McQuaid to Cardinal Simeoni, October 15, 1888. Original draft in my possession.

[140] MENGHINI, *Memorial to the Propaganda*, p. 2; copy in my possession. Cf. an interesting review of the case, hostile to Bishop McQuaid, by Dr. Edward McGlynn in his Address on *Father Lambert, A Priest Who Went to Rome and What He Got There*, delivered before the Anti-poverty Society, 27 Cooper Union, New York City, July 28, 1889, published in the Society's Addresses No. 42, Friday, August 2, 1889.

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deceived when trusting to his own judgment. The more quiet the way in which the examination or trial takes place, the better for religion and the priest, provided the latter has been sufficiently protected against a mistaken or false judgment.

Has Rome any conception of our difficulty in obtaining evidence against an accused priest among the Irish people? . . . Witnesses who are willing to appear before a bishop will not present themselves before a body of priests. At least let Rome proceed cautiously before imposing on us an iron clad form to go by . . . So if you have an opportunity, give them some plain talk. They hear too much that is according to their own preconceived notions of what ought to be, and not enough of the unpleasant truths concerning our actual condition and difficulties. An "Apostolic Delegate" will in my judgment be an unmitigated misfortune. Sycophants will gather around him and use him. Let us be as we are. Still I hold that justice demands that a priest should have a right to a trial by his brother priests whenever accused of a crime for which the bishop proposes to punish him. The mode of this trial makes the difficulty.[141]

The very next year Bishop McQuaid wrote to a prominent American prelate from Rome, December 10, 1878: "My repugnance to a permanent Delegate arises from other reasons chiefly than the one you name. The political reason is a strong one, but the other reasons weigh more with me. I will use all judicious efforts with all suitable persons from the Pope down to put a stop to this Delegate arrangement."[142] When, however, Bishop McQuaid heard a little later that another Delegate would be sent to Canada, "who will also be commissioned to take a look at things in the U. S., but without any official character in our country," he declared: "I do not blame the Propaganda for sending these agents inasmuch as no one says a word against their doing so, while some American bishops favor the plan. To me it is most offensive, but I have not spoken against it because of the unofficial character he is to hold."[143] The "Delegate business" apparently went into abeyance for a time. During the preparations for the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore some misgiving was felt lest a foreigner be appointed to preside over it, and it was with considerable satisfaction to many that the Archbishop of Baltimore was appointed to that position with the rank of Apostolic Delegate. After the Council the issue became vital again. Bishop Dwenger was then mentioned as a candidate. Bishop McQuaid "did not at first intend to do aught. I was simply disgusted with the whole affair. . . However,f or the honor of

[141] Bishops to M. A. C., 1865–1883. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Dunwoodie Seminary.

[142] Baltimore Cathedral Archives, No. 55.

[143] *Ibid.*

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the Holy See I did write a letter to Rome which may serve to open people's eyes with regard to the fitness of the candidate." A little later Bishop McQuaid declared: "Dwenger's chance is not great. It was the intention of Rome to appoint him, but I think that a change has come over them in the Eternal City."[144] When Bishop Gilmour made known his candidates for the position, Rochester, Boston, or New York, Bishop McQuaid replied with a touch of humor: "There is less chance of my appointment [than Dwenger's]; so I do not worry. I am too pleasantly situated where I am to covet any other position or more responsibility. Still I thank you for your good opinion of my humble self. Boston or New York would be the right man."[145] For Bishop Gilmour's benefit Bishop McQuaid cited, February 20, 1887, a pertinent passage from a letter of one of his Roman correspondents of good authority. This personage wrote: "I do not consider it likely from the appearance of things at present that the Delegate will be an American. The idea seems to be to erect in the U. S. a branch of the Propaganda as is done for Turkey, to be presided over by one of themselves. For the present the branch would have no diplomatic character, and very likely its first seat will not be Washington in order to excite no fears."[146] Bishop McQuaid quite agreed with Bishop Gilmour "that the 'branch' will be established here with an Italian at its head. They want to see with their own eyes, so they say. Anything would be better than Dwenger."[147] Finally, after some years an Apostolic Delegation was established at Washington with no official political standing and with Msgr. Satolli at its head. The expense of building a fitting home for the establishment naturally fell to the lot of the American Catholic Church, and the following characteristic letter gives proof of Bishop McQuaid's earnest cooperation in the work.

ROCHESTER, N.Y., *April* 12, 1894.

Most Eminent Cardinal:

At the close of the last year I addressed a letter to the priests of Rochester diocese of which I inclose your Eminence a copy.

Early in February a check for $600 was sent, but as no receipt has come

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[144] Bishop McQuaid to Bishop Gilmour, January 26 and 31, 1887. Cleveland Diocesan Archives, No. 4, No. A, *Bishops from 1872 to 1888.*

[145] *Ibid.*, January 31, 1887.

[146] *Ibid.*, February 20, 1887.

[147] *Ibid.*, February 25, 1887.

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back, it is safe to say that the letter has miscarried. A duplicate check is now mailed, wishing it better luck.

In establishing a pro-rata for this diocese and for the churches in the diocese I assumed that the Catholic population of the country was at least 8,000,000. It is generally estimated at from ten to twelve millions. Six and a quarter mills on eight millions will give the fifty thousand dollars needed. The smallest Catholic population in any diocese will be found to be in North Carolina and Cheyenne, each having about 3,000. The pro-rata for each, at 6¼ mills, would be $18.75. The poorest diocese could pay this amount without much sacrifice.

It is a great pity that the Archbishops at their meeting in Chicago did not determine on the arrangement they have now come to. What might have been brought about at once now drags along and much will never be gathered in satisfactorily.

Your Eminence will remember that in my letter asking for information as to the cost of the Delegation-House, I stated what I proposed to do. In making known its cost you also expressed approval of the plan. The Cath. Pop. of this diocese is not over 80,000. At 6¼ mills our pro-rata would be $500. I have put the amount at $600. The extra $100 will pay for North Carolina, Saint Augustine, and Charleston.

When the inclosed circular letter was sent to the priests of the diocese, although the heading made it a private letter, Rev. Mr. Lambert, whom my brother bishops have been busy patting on the back ever since he gave exhibition of coarse blackguardianism in assaults on his own bishop, in the style of Phelan of the *Western Watchman*, published in the *Catholic Times* of Philadelphia the latter part of the letter, criticising very severely my method of raising this fund for the Delegation-House.

I am glad that it is the only way in which the money can be got together.

I have the honor to remain,

Your Eminence's Obt. Servt.

B. J. McQuaid.[148]

This generous liberality on the part of Bishop McQuaid is all the more striking, as he had more than one reason to complain of the conduct of the first Apostolic Delegate, who for a time was under the influence of persons taking advantage of their position of trust to mislead him. Worst of all was the crisis he precipitated in the Catholic School Question. When Bishop McCloskey of Louisville read the text of his communication to the Archbishops of the United States, he honestly confessed to Archbishop Corrigan, December 8, 1892: "I fear that, if authoritative, it is the death blow to a certain extent of our Catholic schools."[149] Bishop McQuaid expressed the same conviction in writing to the same Archbishop, December 13, 1892:

We are all in a nice pickle, thanks to Leo XIII and his delegate.

Just as our arduous work of the last forty years was beginning to bear ample fruit, they arbitrarily upset the whole. If an enemy had done this!

Yesterday an English translation of Mgr. Satolli's address to the Archbishops came to hand. Apparently it was sent from Philadelphia from a priest who has differed with me on the School Question.

It is only a question of time, when present Roman legislation having

[148] Letters to ——, Baltimore Cathedral Archives, No. 55, Mc.

[149] 1892. Bishops to M. A. C. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Archbishop's House.

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wrought incalculable mischief, that we, school-children of the hierarchy, will again receive a lesson in our Catechism from another Italian sent out to enlighten us.

The lessons of Satolli's pamphlet (private and confidential) do not apply to the diocese of Rochester where the parochial schools are not only equal but much superior to the public schools.

The Professor in Faribault, whose communication to the *Christian Union* is published in the last number of the *Catholic Herald*, together with the description of the Stillwater school which appeared in the *Chicago Herald*, ought to be translated into Italian, and sent in large numbers to Rome. Joined to this publication should be extracts from Archbishop Ireland's *Memorial*. It would show the good people over there how shamefully they were led astray by misrepresentations.[150]

Things were not so bad as they first looked to zealous promoters of the Catholic Parochial School System. Leo XIII sent a letter to the United States, asking the prelates of the Catholic Church for their opinion on the school question. Bishop McQuaid's answer is dated January 16, 1893, and representations such as advanced in this letter saved the Catholic schools from the disaster that seemed to be threatening them. Bishop McQuaid wrote:

I thank your Holiness for the opportunity given me to write upon a subject that gravely concerns the spiritual welfare of our Catholic people in the United States, and about which their minds and souls are at present greatly disturbed.

After the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore we had peace in the Church, and all, bishops, priests, and people, seemed intent on promoting the establishment of Catholic schools as rapidly as possible. The first note of alarm came from a dangerous address delivered at St. Paul before a Convention of State School Teachers. This address of Archbishop Ireland pained and bewildered all who had followed carefully the School Question as it has been discussed in America. Already many efforts had been made to effect a compromise with the State on a basis that would protect the faith and morals of our Catholic children. These efforts have invariably failed of adequate success. On such a basis as that of Faribault and Stillwater, actually put into effect in those towns, it would be easy in many places to bring about an adoption of our Catholic schools as State or Public Schools, but it would be by a complete sacrifice of the Catholic education and training of our children.

The only arrangement that is now possible between the State and Church on this question is one that entirely surrenders our rights, and that puts our schools on a par with the State Schools from which the inculcation of morals based on religious motives is altogether excluded. Whenever the Catholic Church is ready to substitute the natural for the supernatural in religion the time will have arrived for passing over our Schools to State control.

What we have most of all to dread is not the direct teaching of the State Schools, it is the indirect teaching which is the most insiduous and the most dangerous. It is the moral atmosphere, the tone of thought permeating these schools that give cause for alarm. It is the indifferentism with regard to all religious beliefs we most of all fear. This is the dominant heresy that, imbibed in youth, can scarcely ever be eradicated. It is one that already has in our large towns and cities decimated Protestant churches. It is one that will decimate our churches if not checked in time. Indifferentism with regard to all religious ends is rank infidelity.

Associations in schools, especially in State schools, where all classes, Protestants, Jews, and Infidels, meet promiscuously, present another danger.

[150] *Ibid.*

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In a State school all the children of these classes living within the school district are to be found. Watchful Christian parents would never allow their children to associate with such at other times, justly fearing contamination. Yet in State schools their children sit on the same benches with them, and meet them on the playground. Many Protestant parents refuse to send their children to State schools on account of this exposure, preferring private schools. Catholic children in attendance at Catholic schools frequent the sacraments regularly, especially Penance, in which a safeguard is found for purity. When not in Catholic schools experience has shown that only a small number, and these of pious families, can be brought to confession. Other children, not Catholic, have no such protection for morality and esteem purity under a laxer system of intercourse between the sexes as less sacred. These associations, ripening into friendships, lead in time to mixed marriages, the growing evil of our time and country.

Experience has also demonstrated that Catholic children brought up in State schools lose the spirit of the Catholic religion; their thoughts and speech are tinctured with a liberalism that borders on infidelity. A common remark among this class is: All religions are good enough or one religion is as good as another.

I speak with knowledge derived from an experience of forty-five years in the priesthood in this my native country, of which nearly twenty-five have been in the episcopate. The maintenance of Catholic schools demands of bishops, priests, and people great sacrifices, much labor, and a large expenditure of money. I have always believed that the cause of Catholic education was worthy of such sacrifices. I believe it all the more strongly now that I have read what your Holiness says to the Italian people in the Encyclical of December 8.

For many years past I have felt that in this country the Catholic school was as necessary for the children as the church was for them and their parents. For although the chief mission of the Church is to preach the Gospel of Christ, yet there is little likelihood of that Gospel reaching and abiding in the hearts of the children except through the instrumentality of the schoolhouse. Indeed it will be useless to build churches that in one or two generations hence will be vacant because children or grandchildren of European parents no longer follow the religion of their ancestors. If the Church in the United States has already lost so many of her children, it is due in large degree to the want of Catholic schools.

I also beg your Holiness to note that, in discussing the question of State or Government in America, it is necessary to bear in mind that the State, in so far as it is an executive body for the administration of the political affairs of the country, is a creature of the people, and it cannot go counter to the wishes and will of the people. Hence until the people are educated up to a sense of rendering justice to their Catholic fellow-citizens in their schools, it is useless to appeal to what is called the State or Government. In certain localities people may be more intelligent and more just and better disposed to admit our right to provide a Christian education for our children than in others. Just yet the people at large are not prepared to concede to us our just rights, while they are much more so than they were twenty or fifty years ago. The acceptance from them of anything less than our full rights, except as a temporary compromise, would be a misfortune for the church in America. There should be no compromise at any time that sacrifices the right of our children to a Christian education.

With the remarks respectfully offered to your Holiness, I now proceed to animadvert on the fourteen propositions of Mgr. Satolli placed before the Archbishops on the 17th of November last [1892].

1. Of the first five propositions, which are taken from the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore, remark need to be made only on the 5th. This is a portion of the paragraph in which it is found, and by omitting the preceding part conveys the idea that under no circumstances can absolution be refused to parents who persist in sending their children to State schools. This is the interpretation put on it by the Protestant newspapers of the country, which rejoice greatly at the victory gained in their favor. It is also received favorably by Catholic priests and people who side with the prevailing liberalism of

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the day. If it is the correct interpretation, then all further argument is of no avail, and the sooner we abandon all effort to save religion the better. But I do not believe that this is the mind of the Holy See, and for the following reasons:

(*a*) The contrary is taught in the *Instructio* of November 24, 1875.

(*b*) There is always great danger to faith and morals in public schools from which all religion is excluded, if not from the direct teaching, then from association with the classes that frequent the State schools.

(*c*) Scarcely ever do parents, who place their children in State schools, regularly provide for the religious instruction of their children at home.

(*d*) When parents have in their vicinity Catholic schools equal in every respect and often superior to the State schools, and yet favor the latter against the advice of pastor and bishop, they are in a state of sinful contumacy, and ought to be refused absolution until they repent.

(*e*) The unreproved contumacious conduct of a few will after awhile break down our entire system of church schools.

(*f*) In Belgium and other countries of Europe parents who send their children to State schools are refused absolution until they withdraw them.

2. With regard to Section No. 6, I would add after "*quas Status moderatur*," provided the faith and morals of Catholic children are safeguarded as in the Catholic denominational schools of England, etc. The quotation from the Baltimore Council ought to be complete, and include these words: "*nisi forte Ordinarius in casu particulari aliud permitti posse judicet.*"

3. In relation to No. 7, I remark that all attempts on the part of bishops in the past to improve the State schools have been followed by eliminating from them all traces of Christianity as found in the various Protestant sects and substituting therefor what was worse, infidelity.

4. The second paragraph of the eighth section supposes that what it demands for the safe Catholic education of our children is attainable under our present State School System. This is a fallacy. The American people are not in a frame of mind to concede what is essential to the end in view. In certain localities more favorable arrangements may be made than in others. There is one such place in my diocese [Lima]. The teachers are religious appointed by the bishop; they undergo the required examination of the State as to competency in secular branches of learning; the pupils are all the Catholic children of the parish, living near enough to the school, without regard to State school districts or limits; there are never more than two or three non-Catholic children in this school. By the open confession of the State School Commissioner for the county these Sisters are the most competent, and the children of this school are the most polite and best behaved of any State school in the country. And yet we are not altogether satisfied. There is something lacking in the religious tone of the school, and the children do not get all they have a right to.

5. With regard to the first part of Section IX, I beg to say that this diocese has provided Catholic schools in every parish where it is possible to have them; that these schools are in buildings, equipments, and the capacity of their teachers equal to and, it is generally admitted, superior to the State schools in the same localities. Where we have no parochial schools at the present time, we propose to have them just as soon as possible, if this present disturbance does not throw us back for some years.

We have always had Catechism classes for all our children in all the parishes of the diocese.

6. With regard to Section X, I would ask, if the second sentence permits parents to place their children, daughters especially, in non-Catholic boarding schools, when there are superior Convents under the direction of Religious safer and better in every sense of the word at their service. This sentence in Section X has a dangerous sound.

7. Anyone acquainted with our country and its people knows that the time has not come for an arrangement with the State in relation to our rights in this matter of school education. If the proposed arrangement is one by which we are to hand over our schools to the State to be de-Catholicized and made hot-beds of indifferentism with regard to all religion, we can move in this matter, for on this basis non-Catholics will readily meet us. The less we

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have to do with the State the better, until the State is ready to come to us with propositions that will protect the Catholicity of our schools and leave us our rights as Catholics and citizens. In the meantime it is better for us to bear with injustice and wrong, and preserve our virility and independence. This is what I have to say respecting Section XI.

8. Any remarks that I might make on Section XII have already been expressed in the above statements.

9. Section XIII. It does not seem fair to require our teachers to undergo examinations before the State authorities until the State is prepared to acknowledge our just rights. The examinations required by the Ordinary ought to suffice. I think it is putting an indignity on our Religious to ask this of them. In this diocese, our school children voluntarily stand the same examinations to which the State school children are subjected, and when our children show better results, as they uniformly do, it ought to be satisfactory to all that their teachers are competent. Our Catholic people are perfectly satisfied with their schools, and intelligent Protestants admit their superiority.

I sum up by saying:

1. In a country like ours, whose form of government depends on the people, the less interference with our natural rights we concede to what is called the State the better. Later on, when our country becomes less Christian and more infidel, greater concessions will be demanded. All concessions in time acquire the force of rights.

2. Confessional, or denominational schools, such as they have in Canada and England, might answer in places where we cannot do better.

3. In my judgment, it may be generations before the American people will be disposed to listen to the adoption of confessional schools.

4. In the meantime our only alternative is to establish parochial schools wherever we can, and to raise the standard of secular education above that of the State schools, while not neglecting the religious care of those children who are obliged to go to the public schools because there are no parochial schools in their neighborhood.

5. Msgr. Satolli's propositions concede too much.[151]

Despite Bishop McQuaid's activities in behalf of the Parochial School System and his trenchant criticism of the Public School System, he was picked by friends as a candidate for nomination as Regent of the University of the State of New York. He declared January 19, 1894: "At first I was disposed to have nothing to do with regard to this affair, but since it appears that Malone and Lambert are candidates, it becomes a duty to allow my name to be used, even if I should meet with defeat. All I care about is to defeat these two." In regard to the former, he found ample reason to dispute his candidacy in "what Malone is reported in the *Brooklyn Eagle* as saying. A man's worst enemy is always one of his household." These things were so grave that he asked Archbishop Corrigan: "Ought not Bishop McDonnell to bring to the notice of the Delegate what Malone says about parochial schools, etc.?"[152] Two months later, on the return of a friend from Albany, Bishop McQuaid informed his

[151] Original draft in my possession.

[152] Bishop McQuaid to Archbishop Corrigan, January 19, 1894. 1894, Bishops, etc., New York Archdiocesan Archives, Archbishop's House.

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Archbishop that "the prospect there is that Malone will get the election for Regent. His friends, and they include all the clerical cranks of the State, have been working heaven and earth against me. Lambert is working for him." Bishop McQuaid's friend, Mayor Curran of Rochester, a Republican, found "that while the leaders are not opposed to me, the county members have been won over by misrepresentations, etc."[153] There were also other influences brought to bear upon the election against Bishop McQuaid in favor of Malone. He judged it all important to find out all about the outside clerical meddlers in the affairs of this State. "Archbishop Ireland is one, but there are others. I shall not be surprised to learn that among them are some of the University professors. It is just what N. N. would do."[154] However, the most active of all these was the first named who "began to write letters and send telegrams to prominent Republican politicians in favor of Malone." Bishop McQuaid made use of all his powers of expression to make Cardinal Ledochowski later understand the nature of Archbishop Ireland's intervention.

> These letters and telegrams were handed around to politicians in New York City and in the halls of the Legislature at Albany, and were used to destroy all legitimate influence the Archbishop and Suffragans might have in their own State. We are represented as Democrats in politics while Mgr. Ireland was a Republican. No one had a right to designate me as belonging to any party, for ever since my consecration as bishop I have abstained absolutely from all dabbling in politics, and belonged to no party. So far as I know, my brother bishops have been equally cautious. The Rev. Mr. Malone was in no sense a proper representative of the Catholic body; he was not acceptable to the bishops of the State; he would not be able to do us any good while he might do us much harm as Regent; his ideas with regard to parochial schools were not in harmony with Catholic teaching; he publicly in the newspapers showed great contempt for his Ordinary, the bishop of Brooklyn.[155]

The political campaign of 1894 ended in a Republican victory. Bishop McQuaid frankly confessed to Archbishop Corrigan, November 7, 1894: "The Democrats have gone under overwhelmingly. The fate of the amendments, though not certain, in all likelihood follows the party. The course of Ireland and Malone helped some, but the party was past saving. The Republicans themselves had no idea how great their victory was to be."[156] However, before the elections circumstances were such that the Republican Party was glad to have the services of a man like

[153] Same to same, March 23, 1894. *Ibid.*

[154] Same to same, March 31, 1894. *Ibid.*

[155] *c.* February, 1895. Original draft in my possession.

[156] 1894, *Bishops, etc.* New York Archdiocesan Archives, Archbishop's House.

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Archbishop Ireland. The Democratic Party in their Convention had openly and forcibly disavowed the leading principles of the A. P. A., which the Republican Convention refused to do. Besides the Constitutional Convention with a large Republican majority adopted an amendment forbidding all support of denominational, also therefore of parochial schools, out of public money. Nevertheless, the Archbishop of St. Paul personally intervened in favor of the Republican Party in the State of New York.

> Archbishop Ireland came to Philadelphia in the beginning of October, 1894, to be present at a meeting of the Archbishops and, going to New York, remained there and in the neighborhood until the end of November, returning to St. Paul just in time for the First Sunday of Advent. While he was in New York, the electioneering campaign was at fever heat. Both parties were holding public meetings. The Republicans held two such meetings, at which Ireland was present, occupying a conspicuous seat on the rostrum among the speakers and leaders of the party. These facts were duly recorded in the newspapers of the following day. . . . Then a few days before the election, he prepared a paper in favor of the Republican Party, in which he sophistically argued that we should not bring religion into politics, etc. This paper, together with a letter by the Rev. Mr. Malone, and a most bitter anti-Catholic speech directed chiefly against our Catholic Schools among the Indians by the Hon. Mr. Linton was printed and circulated by hundred of thousands of copies throughout the State by agents of the Republican Party, a few days before the election, too late for a refutation of the sophistries of the Catholic Archbishop.[157]

Bishop McQuaid waxed still more indignant when he heard from New York that "after the election a very large sum of money was apparently loaned, but really given by the grateful Republicans to Archbishop Ireland to help him out of his financial difficulties, occasioned by his speculation in lands and railroad stocks."[158] Bishop McQuaid determined to call a halt to such proceedings, and on November 25, 1894, read a public protest in his Cathedral that was spread throughout the country by the public press. The next day he informed Archbishop Corrigan: "It is to the point, and its meaning will be clear to all. I did not mince matters."[159] Cardinal Rampolla wrote Bishop McQuaid later what great pain this public attack on an archbishop had caused the Holy Father, and Cardinal Ledochowski referred the examination of the affair to the Archbishop of New York. Bishop McQuaid replied to Cardinal Rampolla that he would

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[157] Bishop McQuaid to Cardinal Ledochowski, *c.* February, 1895. Original draft in my possession.

[158] *Ibid.*

[159] *Bishops, etc.*, 1894. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Archbishop's House.

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detail the motives of his attack in a letter to the Prefect of the Propaganda, Cardinal Ledochowski, who could then explain the whole matter to the Holy Father, as Roman Authorities would thus come to understand under what circumstances Bishop McQuaid acted as he did.[160] Bishop McQuaid wrote in part:

> I felt it to be a duty of conscience to speak out publicly against the irregular doings of Mgr. Ireland. I was willing to expose myself to abuse, and even censure, in the hope of checking a growing danger to the Church. I am willing to suffer so that the Church can be guarded. Mgr. Ireland's offence was public, the Catholic laity were shocked and scandalised, the members of the Democratic Party, Catholic and non-catholic, were angry beyond measure at this introduction of a new element, the paid services of a Catholic Archbishop, into political wranglings and warfare. The general silence seemed to them like acquiescence. They now know that Mgr. Ireland's political methods are not approved by all, unless the Holy See should decide that they are commendable.[161]

Two years later, when Bishop McQuaid received the Brief from Rome transferring four counties from the Diocese of Buffalo to the Diocese of Rochester, he could not help remarking: "Evidently over there in Rome they can't bear me much ill-will for the lecture I gave Ireland, or they would not enlarge the diocese of Rochester in my lifetime."[162] Subsequently, events wrought a change in Archbishop Ireland, if we can believe Bishop McQuaid's words addressed to his Metropolitan, September 19, 1896: "Archbishop Ireland's conversion is just in time. I hope it will be permanent."[163] The Faribault and Stillwater arrangements, which Rome decided could be tolerated, but did not approve despite persistent mistranslation of Latin words, came to an untimely end as all such earlier arrangements in the State of New York. Later in life, Archbishop Ireland's championship of the Catholic School System could not be more pronounced than it was. Fortunately, an interchange of visits by the two prelates to their respective episcopal cities made these two prominent members of the American Hierarchy drop the old spirit of animosity towards each other, and work together more closely for God and his Church.

While the New York State Constitutional Convention of 1894

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[160] Bishop McQuaid to Cardinal Rampolla. Original draft of translation in my possession. Archbishop Corrigan to Bishop McQuaid, January 16, 1895. Material for Corrigan Life. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Archbishop's House.

[161] *c.* February, 1895. Original draft in my possession.

[162] Bishop McQuaid to Archbishop Corrigan, January 20, 1897. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Archbishop's House.

[163] 1896, *Bishops and Dignitaries. Ibid.*

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cut off all possibility of support for the parochial schools out of public money, it refused to follow the same policy towards Catholic and other denominational charitable institutions. It did this despite the amendment framed under the influence of the "National League for the Protection of American Institutions," which declared: "No law shall be passed respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof, nor shall the State, or any county, city, town, village, or other civil division use its property or credit or any money raised by taxation or otherwise, or aiding by appropriation, payment for services, expenses, or in any other manner, any church, religious denomination, or religious society, or any institution, society, or undertaking which is wholly or in part under sectarian or ecclesiastical control." By its rejection diocesan charitable institutions—the Boys' and the Girls' Orphan asylums that Bishop McQuaid found established on his arrival in Rochester and later rebuilt on an enlarged scale, St. Ann's Home for the Aged, St. Mary's Hospital, continued to receive opportune State aid to supplement their main support derived from Catholics. Even the school teachers in the Asylums are salaried by the State despite the persevering efforts of a prominent Rochester A. P. A., that only ceased with death, to prevent the State authorities from doing so. The State also continued to support Catholic chaplains in its penal and eleemosynary institutions, and the example of the State was and is rivalled in this matter at Rochester by both county and municipality. This condition of affairs was not always thus.

The most serious problem along these lines was offered by the Western House of Refuge established at Rochester for the reformation of juvenile delinquents. Previous to Bishop McQuaid's arrival in Rochester, efforts to obtain the right of worship and Catholic instruction for the Catholic boys confined there had failed. When Bishop McQuaid brought the matter before the managers of the institution, he received considerable support from some, but encountered too much opposition from others to be successful.[164] The Protestant chaplain continued his ministration to

[164] November Quarterly meeting, 1869; committee meeting, December 4 and 30, 1869; managers' meeting, January 4, 1870; *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, November 17, 1869 and January 5, 1870.

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all, both Catholics and Protestants, claiming to give only general moral instruction, which the Catholic managers nevertheless knew to be sectarian. These men tried in vain to make their opponents realize what a powerful factor for good Catholic worship and instruction were in the reformation of Catholic wayward boys. Peculiar circumstances brought about a better appreciation of this at the Alms House according to the report the Protestant chaplain, the Rev. Dr. Van Ingen, made to the Supervisors:

> It is well known that a very large proportion of the inmates of your Alms House are foreign born, and that most of these are in religious faith Roman Catholics. It is a part of their education to make much of attendance once each Sunday at the public worship of their church; and it had been customary to indulge many of them in going to the city on Sunday morning for this purpose. The results from their yielding to the solicitations of appetite or the false kindness of acquaintances were subversive of the order and discipline of the House; and an effectual remedy was found in the rule laid down by the present officers and rigidly enforced, forbidding absence on Sundays, in conjunction with an offer of the chapel on Sundays for religious services by a minister of their own faith. Such services were held in consequence in the chapel at an early hour on Sunday morning by Father Baraffi, a R. C. clergyman of courteous manners and earnest devotion to his work, under appointment from his bishop, beginning in March last and suspended when the chapel became a dormitory in the autumn.
>
> The influence of this arrangement upon the good order of the House has often been attested by the Officers in charge.[165]

New tactics were now adopted by Bishop McQuaid in regard to the Western House of Refuge. He tried to have pastors obtain the signatures of the boys' parents and guardians to a petition in behalf of the Rights of Conscience of their boys. Finally, the following petition was presented to the Managers at their regular quarterly meeting, August, 1874:

> The undersigned parents and guardians of boys now in the Western House of Refuge, and professing the Catholic religion, respectfully petition the Managers of said institution to permit the holding of religious exercises in harmony with the religious belief of these boys. Knowing that the teachings and influence of religion will do more to make permanent the reformation sought in the House of Refuge than any other means, we urge our request that these boys shall not be deprived of so great a help to present and future good conduct, and shall not be debarred from the free exercise of religion guaranteed by the Constitutions of the United States and the State of New York.[166]

The Constitution of the United States, Article I of the Amendments, declared that "Congress shall make no law respecting the establishment of religion or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The Constitution of the State of New York, Article I, Section 3, made a more pertinent declaration: "The free exer-

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[165] *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, January 8, 1873.

[166] *Rochester Union and Advertiser*, August 19 and November 30, 1874.

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cise and enjoyment of religious profession and worship shall forever be allowed in this State to all mankind." On the motion of Manager Purcell the petition was referred to a committee of three to consider and report at the next meeting. Managers Purcell, Andrews, and Chapin were appointed to the committee, which submitted a Majority Report signed by E. R. Andrews and Louis Chapin and a Minority Report signed by Wm. Purcell in the November meeting. The Majority Report maintained (1) "that to invite the religious teachers of all sects to hold separate religious exercises in the House of Refuge would be subversive of all discipline and fraught only with evil;" (2) that "if there are any rights resting with individuals in regard to religion, they rest with the children, not with the parents and guardians." Its signers therefore recommended "that the request be not complied with, but that an invitation be extended to the clergy of all denominations to visit the institution and to address the boys on topics of practical life, morality, and religion at such times as may be consistent with the duties of the boys under the direction of the Superintendent or the Board of Managers." The Minority Report thoroughly treated the issue both from the legal and the moral point of view. The opinion of Judge Selden was sought by Mr. Purcell and upheld the rights of Catholic boys to Catholic worship in the institution in which they were confined. Precedents for this were gathered by him from "the practice and experience of other reformatories and other prisons both in this and other countries." All this led to the formulation of the resolution: "That the prayer of the petition of parents and guardians of Catholic children confined in the Western House of Refuge for freedom of religious profession and worship be and is hereby granted in such manner and under such rules and regulations as the Acting Committee may prescribe." The resolution was modified so as to grant the requested Catholic worship "under the rules and regulations of the institution" and "in the chapel and under the direction of our superintendent" with the Catholic clergy to "be appointed by this Board." The modified resolution was adopted by a vote of eleven against two. Even one of the signers of the Majority Report, Mr. Chapin, cast his vote in its favor.[167] The March meeting, 1875, accordingly elected two

[167] *Union and Advertiser*, November 30, 1874.

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chaplains, one Catholic and the other Protestant.[168] While Mr. William Purcell was perfectly competent to put together the Minority Report, its methods are largely those followed by Bishop McQuaid in his great lectures on Free Christian Schools. Many years after this, when the Western House of Refuge moved out of the city into the country, two distinct chapels were erected on its grounds, one for Protestants, and the other for Catholics with a resident chaplain attached. The justice of such an arrangement meanwhile had become more and more recognized. Ten years after the election of the first Catholic chaplain to the Western House of Refuge, Bishop McQuaid was able to write Bishop Gilmour, January 11, 1885: "Our new Governor, successor to Cleveland, came out in his message for Freedom of Religious Worship, clearly, broadly, and boldly. Both parties are bidding for the honor of presenting the Bill. While the game is in hand and sure, what are the shortsighted New Yorkers doing, but spoiling the bill by putting in it that no minister shall be paid. If these stupid men would also arrange a plan by which ministers could live without cost, they would show some sense. However, we shall be able to strike out this clause."[169] Despite new fears the measure finally passed in a satisfactory form, and was duly signed by the Governor, David B. Hill. Thus freedom of religious worship became guaranteed by law to all inmates of penal and public eleemosynary institutions within the State of New York.

Nevertheless, Bishop McQuaid was not completely satisfied in the last decade of his life with all that had been done, as there were still two great public institutions within his diocese without resident chaplains that ought to have had them. One of these was the Craig Colony for Epileptics at Sonyea, Livingston County, N. Y., where the State of New York had acquired possession of nearly 2,000 acres of land, and built a home for the judicious and scientific treatment of the indigent epileptics of the State. At first there were only visiting clergymen officiating at the Colony, but January 9, 1900, the Board of Managers resolved: "That it is the sense of this meeting that there should be two permanent

[168] *Ibid.*, March 17, 1875.

[169] Cleveland Diocesan Archives, No. 4, No. A, *Bishops from 1872 to 1888*.

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Chaplains for the Colony, one Protestant and one Catholic."[170] This opened the way for Bishop McQuaid, who informed Archbishop Corrigan of his plans in regard to the institution, April 17, 1900.

> The present Chapel is a large room to be used by both [Catholics and non-Catholics], and also for general purposes of assembly. I proposed to build a Chapel and residence for the use of Catholics alone. . . . In this Chapel there can be many religious services and devotions, the Stations of the Cross and reservation of the Blessed Sacrament.
>
> I intend that Rochester Diocese shall bear one-half of the cost, and I think that the other dioceses of the State might meet the other half. With your consent I will place among some of the pastors of New York collection cards with 20 squares, each square representing 25 cents, the whole card $5. Many pastors will take no interest in the good work; others will gladly help. The whole cost will be about $8,000.
>
> All I ask of my brother bishops is their permission to make this appeal to their people through their pastors.
>
> A point of view deserving of consideration is the introduction of this arrangement into a State Institution. It may in time lead to similar arrangements in other places.[171]

The last point was in fact duly appreciated by the Board of Managers at the Colony. In their meeting, July 10, 1900, they seized the occasion to frame the following resolution of acceptance and thanks.

> Whereas, By virtue of the large and daily increasing number of patients at Craig Colony and its present meagre facilities in the way of a house in which religious service may be observed, and
>
> Whereas, A large percentage of all the patients at the colony are of one religious faith—the Catholic—and
>
> Whereas, The Right Reverend B. J. McQuaid, Bishop of Rochester, N. Y., has offered to donate funds to construct a Catholic chapel, in conjunction with a cottage for a priest, on the colony, free of all expense to the State, giving the managers of the colony the right to approve the plans and location of the buildings,
>
> *Resolved*, That we, the Board of Managers of Craig Colony, do hereby accept the magnanimous offer of the Bishop of Rochester, and extend to him our thanks.
>
> We feel that the Bishop of Rochester, in building a chapel of this kind, is engaging in pioneer work that will have widespread influence.[172]

The work made due progress, and on February 18, 1902, Bishop McQuaid "visited the Craig Colony for Epileptics to inspect the chapel and the chaplain's residence. I was much pleased with both, but the dedication of the chapel is postponed until April 8, by which time the stained-glass windows and Stations will be in place."[173] With this important work practically

[170] Minutes of Board of Managers. Kindness of Dr. Wm. T. Shanahan, Medical Superintendent, through Rev. Walter McCarthy.

[171] M. A. C. New York Archdiocesan Archives, Vol. 15, Archbishop's House.

[172] Minutes of the Board of Managers.

[173] Bishop McQuaid to Archbishop Corrigan. New York Diocesan Archives, Vol. 55. Archbishop House.

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finished, he turned his attention to the other State Institution, for which he proposed to do almost as much, as he informed Archbishop Corrigan, February 19, 1902:

> I am now preparing to build a chaplain's house and small chapel attached for week day's Mass, reservation of the B. S., at the State Soldiers' Home at Bath, Steuben Co. This will only cost about $3,500 and no appeal will be made outside of the Diocese of Rochester. The Chaplain can use the chapel on the grounds for Sundays. The Chapel connected with his house will not hold more than fifty. There are about 600 or 700 soldiers in the Home. The trustees are not unwilling to build the house, but I preferred to build it myself, as thus I would have a good hold in the place.[174]

Bishop McQuaid's plans were also duly carried out at the Soldiers' Home. Thus Catholic ministration was brought into two State Institutions in a way to benefit the inmates, who needed even more than others the ever present consolation of their Holy Religion.

FREDERICK J. ZWIERLEIN, D. Sc., M. H.,
St. Bernard's Seminary,
Rochester, N. Y.

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[174] *Ibid.*

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EUSEBIO KINO

1644-1711

Gilmary Shea regrets that the life of Kino, whom he regards as one of the greatest of American missionaries, has never been written. Alegre voices the same sentiment, but in his *Compañia de Jesús en Nueva Espana* he gives sufficient data to enable us to appreciate, at least to some extent, the greatness of this remarkable man.

Hubert Bancroft (xv, p. 250) informs us that "Eusebius Kühn, *as his name was doubtless written in his earliest years* (Kino being a Spanish compromise between the original Kühn and *Quino*), was born in the Austrian Tyrol." The *Journal de Trévoux*, a Jesuit publication of the eighteenth century, also assumes that Kino was a German. Gilmary Shea calls him Kühn. Gleeson, in his *History of the Church in California* (p. 85), gives us a variation by adding an *o* to the German appellative, and hence the great man appears as Kuhno; but that may have been a slip, just as later on, in the same volume, we find the illustrious Kircher transformed into Kirker.

Fr. Huonder, S.J., pronounces for Kühn and says that "Kino represents its Spanish and Italian form." Unfortunately for this assertion it is not true either for Italian or Spanish. Thus the first Italian dictionary at hand has the following piece of information under the letter *K: Lettera detta Kappa non è necessaria agl'Italiani, e viene solo adoperata in qualche nome straniero.* It is the same for Spanish. *K* does not appear in the list of consonants and just as in Italian, we are told by a Spanish lexicographer: "It is used only in words taken from other languages, many of which, however, are now spelled with *c* or *q*." In the dictionary before us there are just sixteen words beginning with *K*, and one of them is "Kyrieleison."

Sommervogel, on the other hand, in his *Bibliotheca Scriptorum S.J.*, insists that the name was originally *Chino*, and he substantiates his assertion by the testimony of a descendant of the family. Besides, since he was born near Trent, the language of the family must have been Italian. Indeed, Huonder tells us that "Kino was born in the *Welschtirol*." But under the title

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Wales in the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, we read that the name "Wales" was given to that country not by its inhabitants but by the *Teutonic* occupiers of England, and meant "the territory of the *alien* race." Thus *Welch* (German, *Walsch*) implies a people of either Latin or Celtic origin living in a land near or adjoining Teutonic territory. Thus "Walschland" is a poetical expression in German for "Italy."

The Italian character of the Chino family might also be shown by the fact that the famous Italian missionary in China, Martino Martini, was Chino's cousin. Like Chino, he was a distinguished geographer.

Better than all this, we have Chino's own signature. On one of his autograph maps appears the inscription: *Tabula Californiae ex autoptica observatione delineata a R. P. Eusebio Chino S. J.* This ought to be final, and Huonder refers to this map as appearing in the *Neuer Welt-Bott*. That publication, however, is credited with taking another liberty with the name. Chino appears as *Chinoe*.

Why, it may be asked, if the name were originally "Chino," was it changed to Kino? For a very simple reason. In Italian, the pronunciation of *ch* before *i* is hard, as *chiesa*, *chiaro*, etc.; whereas in Spanish the sound of *ch* is soft before all the vowels, *muchacho*, *chiquito*, etc. When, therefore, this "Italian," as Alegre calls him, found himself among his Spanish brethren he was forced to spell his name with a *K* so to preserve his patronymic, and also to prevent himself from being regarded as a Chinaman. Padre Chino would have been a very awkward designation in Mexico.

This conclusion had been arrived at, in an article on "Kino" written for *The Catholic Historical Review* and it was already in print when the forthcoming publication of Bolton's very remarkable *Historical Memoir of Father Kino*, was announced.[1] The article in question was, of course, promptly recalled, until Dr. Bolton's book could be consulted; and it is very satisfactory to be able to record that the *Memoir* puts the question of Kino's race

[1] HERBERT E. BOLTON, PH.D., *Kino's Historical Memoir of Primeria Alta. A contemporary account of the beginnings of California, Sonora, and Arizona, by Father Eusebio Francisco Kino, S.J., Pioneer Missionary, Explorer, Cartographer, and Ranchman* 1683-1711, 2 vols. Cleveland (Arthur H. Clark Company), 1919.

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beyond question. Indeed, on the list of Jesuits who embarked for Mexico on July 12, 1678, appears the name: Eusebius Franciscus *Chinus*, not Kino nor Kühn.

It is difficult to overrate the value of this very notable contribution to the knowledge of the conditions of Northern Mexico at the end of the 17th century. The title of the book is "Celestial Favors" which would naturally suggest a treatise on ascetism, whereas the "Celestial Favors" are nothing but the heaven-sent opportunities given to Spain for the conversion of the Pimería Indians. The original of the manuscript was discovered by Dr. Bolton eleven years ago, after a century and a half of oblivion. He came upon it, he tells us, in the Archivo General y Publico at Mexico City. It is admirably translated; a task, says the distinguished editor "which is lightly regarded only by those who have never tried it." With this judgment all who have tried it will heartily concur. No library of any consequence can afford to be without these two handsome volumes.

Eusebio Chino entered the Society of Jesus in Bavaria, November 20, 1665. He was then twenty-one years of age. He subsequently taught mathematics at Ingolstadt, and while occupying that post, he applied for the foreign missions. He left the University in 1678, but did not reach Mexico until late in 1681. The reason of the delay was his assignment as an observer of the famous comet of 1680 and 1681. During that time, he lived in Cadiz, but did not publish the result of his observations until after he arrived in Mexico. The book has a very portentous title and is quoted in Sommervogel as: *Exposicion Astronomica de el Cometa, que el año de* 1680, *por los meses de Noviembre y Diziembre, y este año de* 1681 *por los meses de Enero y Febrero, se ha visto en todo el mondo, y le ha observado en Ciudad de Cadiz el P. Eusebio Francisco Kino, de la Compañia de Jesus, con licencia en Mexico por Francisco Rodriguez Lupercio,* 1681.

Possibly this pompous announcement was intended as an apology for Kino's audacity in questioning the findings of a famous astronomer of the period who rejoiced in the name *Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora, Cosmographo y Mathematico Regio en la Academia Mexicana.*

The settlement of Lower California had been attempted as early as 1535 by a Franciscan who landed with Cortes, at Santa

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Cruz Bay near the present La Paz. "After a year of privations," says Englehardt, "which had cost the famous conqueror $300,000, the project had to be abandoned. Another effort was made in 1596, but the mission did not last a single year. Almost a century later, namely in 1683, the Jesuit Fathers Kino and Goni, along with Fray José Guijosa of the Order of St. John of God, accompanied Admiral Otondo on an expedition to that unhappy country."

They embarked on the *Limpia Concepcion* and the *San José y San Francisco Javier* and set sail on January 18. A sloop with provisions was to accompany them, but it never left port. The voyage lasted until March 30, and on that day they entered the harbor of La Paz, but not until April 5 did the Admiral set foot on shore to take solemn possession of the land. The official document which he sent to the King announcing this important event is worth quoting as an example of the style of the State Papers of those days. It runs as follows:

> In the Port which is called La Paz, in the region of California, on the fifth day of April in the year 1683. Señor Almirante Isidro de Ontondo y Antillon, Supreme Head of the Royal Armada [it may be noted that this particular Armada consisted of two ships] anchoring in this Port and taking possession of this region for His Majesty, declared as follows:
>
> It did please God that, on Thursday, the first of the said month we should find bottom in this port for the ship named the *Immaculate Conception*, and the Admiral's ship *St. Joseph and St. Francis Xavier*, after having left the Port of Chacala on the 17 of last January of the present year, having been delayed in that short passage by contrary winds and currents, but on April 2, thanks be to God, all the company, including the Reverend Father Eusebio Francisco Kino and Pedro Matias Gogni *de la Sagrada Compañia de Jesus* and also Friar José Guijosa, Professed Religious of St. John of God, as well as the two Captains *de mar y guerra*, Don Francisco de Ponda y Atco and Don Blas de Guzman y Cordova, with the Ensign Martin de Verastegui and 24 soldiers, who with arms in hand leaped ashore and gave thanks to God. A little fresh water was found, for which, by order of the Admiral, a well was dug deep and wide so that all might have enough to quench their thirst. Then one of the 200 palm trees in the grove nearby was cut down and planted on an eminence, about an arquebus-shot from the shore so as to proclaim abroad that the land thus taken was habitable. And in virtue of the faculty granted by the Apostolic See to the Catholic monarch to annex to the royal crown and to conquer and acquire the barbarous countries of the West in America, and to take possession of them through his vassals . . . the Admiral

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after having made the infantry ready did come ashore with all the people hereinbefore mentioned, namely, all the infantry and the Ensign Martin de Verastegui, who did take in his hand a scarlet standard on one side of which was the image of Our Lady of Help and on the other, the arms of His Majesty, whom may God preserve; and the said Captains and all the infantry under arms and the said Ensign with his standard, did at a signal given by the said Admiral discharge their muskets, the said Ensign did three times wave the standard and all did acclaim and repeat:

Long live Charles II, monarch of the Spains, our King and natural Lord, in whose royal name, the said Admiral did take possession of this region which he entitled and named the Province of the Most Holy Trinity of the Californias, so that God's infinite power may assist in winning the said Provinces to the Holy Catholic Faith. And as a sign of all hereinbefore set down, the Señor Admiral had the said standard placed under the shade of a palm tree and there planted his camp, naming it Our Lady of Peace. And to testify to your Majesty and to His Excellency the Viceroy, in the name of the King, and in pursuance of our obligations to render an account of the manner and care employed in this, the said Province, he did command the Notary who was present to take down in writing and to add the testimony of all the persons above mentioned, which order has been carried out.

To the document is added:

I the aforesaid Notary attest and certify that all has transpired as has been related above, and as a perpetual memorial of the same are here attached the signatures of the said Señor Admiral with the said Reverend Fathers, Captains, and others which have been here subscribed, in the Port of LaPaz on the 5th day of April, 1683.

Don Isidro de Otondo y Antillon, Eusebio Francisco Kino, and Pedro Matias Gogni of the Compania de Jesus; Friar Joseph Guijosa of St. John of God: Martin Verastegui; Don Francisco Pareda y Arce; Don Blas Guzman y Cordova; and Don Lorenzo Fernandez Lascono.

Before me

DIEGO DE SALES,
Royal Secretary.

In this pompous fashion Father Eusebio Kino was introduced into mission history, and in the language of the day was the "cosmografo" whose mathematical training would enable him to map out both the ports they entered and those they passed by.

In spite, however, of this robustious proclamation, Ontondo does not seem to have made a very valuable gift to the Majesty of the Spains. A hole dug in the ground into which some water dribbled could scarcely suffice for the comfort of the colonists, and was quite inadequate to raise live stock and cultivate the

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soil. Nor could he hope for supplies from the other side of the Gulf if other voyages were to be as slow as his own. Over and above this, not a single native had so far made his appearance, and it was only when the tents were pitched that some of them were sighted in the distance. They were evidently not overjoyed at the arrival of the Spaniards, and it was only after the priests had offered them something to eat that they came near. The Admiral, however, was so convinced that they were friendly that he started out to explore the country. On the southeast he found the Guaicuros, "who," says Alegre somewhat naively, "did not tell him they were much obliged to him for his visit. Indeed they concealed their children, refused to give even a drink of water to the soldiers and then frightened the valiant Admiral out of his wits. A band of warriors suddenly appeared and then scampered off to see how many Spaniards were left in the Presidio. However, no attack was made."

The Coros also were found in that direction. They were a peaceable set and proved their friendship, later on, when the Guaicoros asked them to join in an attempt to murder the newcomers. The proposal was apparently accepted, but the Coros informed the Admiral of the plot, so that the Spaniards were prepared, when, on July 1, fifteen or twenty poor Indians attempted to capture the post. A swivel-gun was planted where the unfortunate wretches had to pass, and before they even suspected any danger a number of dead and wounded lay stretched on the ground.

In spite of this easy victory, however, the Spaniards themselves were more frightened than the Indians, and called upon the Admiral to abandon the post which he had so solemnly taken possession of two months before. The cruel historian says that "they whimpered like children and insisted on leaving La Paz even if they had to go to a barren island." The real reason of the panic, however, would appear to have been that their food was giving out or rotting, and the ship which had been despatched for supplies to the other side of the Gulf had not returned.

The Admiral was disgusted and withstood the clamor until the 14th of July. Then he and his faint-hearted followers set sail for the end of the Peninsula and from there crossed over to Sinaloa, where they remained till September; but after awhile,

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for some unaccountable reason, or yielding perhaps to the pleadings of Otondo, they plucked up courage and on October 6, after an eight days' sail, returned to California. It was St. Bruno's Day when they reached land, and hence they gave his name to the new place.

St. Bruno's exact location cannot at present be indicated, for it has disappeared from the modern maps. At all events it was a more satisfactory place than La Paz, for a ship sent to the Yaqui River on November 16 was back again on the 20th, with an abundance of provisions and live stock. The trip had been made in thirty hours, and, best of all, the Indians had been coming every day to the post and were as much at home as if they were Spaniards. Of course the missionaries were delighted and immediately began to study the native language. They soon found two distinct forms of speech and classified them as Edues and Didios. The words of the new tongue were easy to pronounce, though they lacked the letters *f* and *s*. On the other hand, the Indians did not appear to have much trouble in picking up Spanish.

Some of the devices employed to get religious ideas into the heads of the neophytes afforded no little amusement. Thus, on November 9, when the chapel was finished, a beautiful picture of Christ crucified was placed over the altar. The Indians were very much frightened by it. They did not even dare to look at it or speak about it, at least to the white man, but they asked each other: "Who is it? Is it one of their captives whom they killed in war? What a cruel people they are to treat a man in that way!" Finally, the Fathers contrived in one way or another to let them know what it meant.

There was considerable trouble also in explaining the resurrection of the dead, and the following scheme was resorted to. With great ceremony a number of flies were put under a heap of ashes and then exposed to the sun. After awhile, of course, the flies began to work their way out and escaped. The delighted Indians exclaimed again and again: *Ibimuheite, Ibimuheite,* and ever afterward that word was used to mean "resurrection."

On the 1st and 21st of December other exploring parties were sent out to the west and south, and although the arrival of the white men at first emptied those rancherias of their inhabitants,

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a little coaxing by the priests and others soon induced the fugitives to return and, later on, to present themselves at the post.

The two missionaries made daily visits to the various villages of the Edues and Didios, and they found the people gentle and docile, and occasionally some Indians from other parts of the country were met with. Of course the maize and hats and strips of cloth and rings and bracelets were powerful attractions for the unclothed and hungry savages, and His Majesty's liberality in that respect was boundless, but always on condition that they would listen to the Padres. The Didios were especially quick at learning the *doctrina* and recited their lesson in unison every day in the chapel. There would have been many baptisms, but the stability of the neophytes was still a matter of doubt.

Meantime the soldiers and officials of the expedition began to show signs of discontent. They had not left Mexico to convert these naked Indians. What they wanted was to get near the pearl fisheries and the gold mines. Meantime, the expenditures of the Government on the enterprise were enormous and evidently out of all proportion with the returns. Nor was there any hope of improvement in the future. The fresh water pools were few and far between and often muddy and foul; the soil was arid, the climate unhealthy and oppressively hot, and, unlike the first run to the Yaqui for supplies, the trips were now irregular and slow. Even the gentle savages began to cause alarm. Thus in February the Edues had stampeded in a rage, dragging their women and children from the Presidio because someone had been whipped, and as they fled they vowed that they would return and burn the post, for they would have nothing more to do with the proud and ungrateful people whose houses they had helped to build, whose flocks they had tended, and whose ships they had labored to unload.

For a time the Spaniards were alarmed, especially when they heard that the Indians were talking of killing Otondo and driving the others from the country with the exception of the two Fathers who had done them no harm. Indeed during all the trouble the missionaries went around to the different rancherias and, by expostulating and entreating and giving them presents from the Admiral, succeeded in tranquillizing them to a certain degree. But it was not altogether successful, for later on the Didios

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murdered a shepherd and, when pursued, successfully eluded the soldiers.

The general result was that the men were habitually surly, and their bad temper was aggravated by the long absence of the Admiral, by the shortage of food, and the outbreak of an epidemic. But when Otondo returned with a reenforcement of twenty soldiers and another missionary named Copart, besides flour, rice and eleven months' pay, their spirits revived. Everyone was happy now, especially Father Kino, who was to make his vows of profession in the hands of Copart. This was on August 15, but on the 29th he was ordered back to Mexico. He took with him a Didios Indian, as well as a map of all that section of Lower California which he had been able to explore. The mission lasted only a short time after his departure, for although the two Fathers whom he left behind him, and doubtless also the Friar, were willing to remain, the garrison and the officials insisted upon abandoning the place. This was Spain's third failure in establishing a post in Lower California. Father Copart is said to have been so depressed by the abandonment of the mission that he lost his mind.

When Kino reached Mexico he was made a member of a *junta* in which he was associated with the Fiscal of the Royal Audiencia and Admiral Otondo to study the California colonization question and to report to the Viceroy. At one time the Government made an offer to the Jesuits to undertake both the religious and military responsibility of another attempt at settlement, and the Treasury was to furnish the requisite funds to the extent of 30,000 pesos a year, but of course the offer was rejected as the civil and military control made the proposition incompatible with the plans of a Religious Order. They were quite willing to supply all the missionaries who might be needed, but they refused to be government officials.

Then a certain "Capitan" de Luzernilla proposed to undertake the work at half the proffered rate but as he had failed on a former occasion his offer was rejected and the whole affair was handed over to the Admiral. As money, however, was scarce the scheme was dropped for the time being.

California was now a closed country and Kino applied for a mission among the Pima Indians. He did not, however, intend

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to remain there permanently, for his heart was in California. His offer was welcomed by the Provincial, who would have sent him immediately thither, but a government permission was a prerequisite, as well as a royal assignment of funds. Neither difficulty dismayed Kino, and he immediately interviewed the Viceroy and was so eloquent in his plea that he not only received permission and financial aid to work in the new field but authorization for whatever post he might choose among the Seris of Sonora.

When that much was accomplished, he set off for Guadalajara, where the Royal Audiencia was in session, to address them on another matter which was very close to his heart, namely, the abrogation of the stupid policy of imposing labor on the convert Indians in the mines and haciendas, while the others who refused to be Christians were allowed to go scot free. It was putting a premium on paganism.

All that he could get, however, from the Audiencia was a five-year exemption, in spite of the fact that as far back as 1607 Philip III had ruled that for ten years after baptism every convert should be exempt from compulsory labor. The same royal order had been renewed in 1618, and it was most faithfully observed where there were no mines or haciendas to put the converts at work.

Indeed in the very year that the missionary was making his appeal, Charles II had extended the exemption to twenty years, and Alegre asks if Kino was aware of such an edict. No doubt he was, just as he was aware of its non-observance. He had got at least a five-year exemption from the local official, and that was better for all practical purposes than the royal command, which was never obeyed. No doubt he hoped for something better later on. With this warrant in his hand he set out for Pimería.

What was the Pimería? It was the land of the Pima Indians. In 1764, it was the northern limit of Spain's possessions, about 400 leagues from the city of Mexico and about 130 from Sinaloa. On the east a mountain range separated it from Taurumara, and on the west, the Gulf of California bathed its shores from the Yaqui River to the Colorado. Its northern boundary was the Hila or Gila or Xila River and its southern, the Yaqui. According to Baron La Hontan, the Colorado and Gila have their source in the Great Lakes, a piece of information which is characteristic of La Hontan.

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According to Alegre "the soil is rich, there is no end of game, such as lions, tigers, bears, deer, boars, rabbits and squirrels. The woods are full of serpents, poisonous or otherwise, but there are herbs and plants innumerable, which possessed most wonderful healing powers. The birds were numerous and "two-headed eagles," the reader is assured, "were not rare." Kino, as far as we can find, makes no mention of "two headed eagles."

The people were robust and lived to an extreme old age, except where the fogs of the lowland prevailed. There all sorts of ailments occur. The Pimas were composed of a number of tribes such as the Opas, Cocomaricopas, Hudcoacanes, Yumas, etc. They lived on both sides of the Gila River in rancherias, which the missionaries united into pueblos. They numbered in all about 30,000. The Serios who were found along the Gulf coast were mostly identified with the Giuamas. To the north were the savage Apaches.

None of these people had any means of recording the doings of the past, such as the hieroglyphics of the Mexicans, but they made much of certain traditions which they refused to impart to strangers. As far as could be ascertained, they had no sacrifice or idols, no kind of worship and no priests except the wizards, whom they regarded with abject terror.

Tatooing around the eyes was universal, even for children. At birth a sort of sponsor for the child was summoned, and he was given more authority than the parent. At death all the trappings and household belongings of the departed were buried with him. They believed in divinations like the ancient Greeks and Romans, with the difference that the creature inspected was not a bird but a lobster. Statues and emblems were placed on the roadsides, before which every passer-by had to leave an offering. Alegre gives a long list of their superstitions, some of which Bancroft denounces as hideously obscene. The initiation of the warrior resembled the horrible ritual common among the northern Mandans, and the torture of captives, even of little children, by old squaws, was as fiendish as similar practices among the Iroquois.

The Jesuit missions among these people were inaugurated as early as 1637 or 1638, by Father Castano, who had been trained in the Sonora district by Mendez, but the Pima section to which

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Kino betook himself was a new field. He called his first post N. S. de los Dolores, and it may be found on the map just north of Cucurpe at the source of the river called Horcasitas or San Miguel. From there he developed dependent stations, and before 1691, he had three at San Ignacio, Remedios, and San José in each of which he built a fine church.

In 1691 Father Salvatierra went to the Pima district as the official Visitor and at Dolores met Kino, whom he found to be a man after his own heart. They traveled north together by Hymeris, Caborca, Tubutama and other missions founded a short time before. Their destination was Cocospera, but when some caciques of the Sabaypioris, who lived 160 leagues higher up, came to ask for missionaries, the request was granted and the priests accompanied the petitioners to their rancherias of Guevavi, where they were cordially received by all the tribe. Some children were baptized and, when arrangements were made for Kino to return to visit them and assume full care of the mission till someone was found in Mexico to take his place, the two friends continued on the journey At Cocospera they separated, Salvatierra to visit the other posts and Kino to go down to Mexico to get missionaries.

Salvatierra must have been delighted with what he saw, for Bolton tells us: "The work which Father Kino did as a ranchman or stockman would alone stamp him as an unusual business man and make him worthy of remembrance. He was easily the cattle king of his day and region. The stock raising industry of nearly 20 places on the modern map owes its beginnings to this indefatigable man. And it must not be supposed that he did this for private gain for he did not own a single animal. It was to furnish a food supply for the Indians of the missions established and to be established and to give these missions a basis of economic prosperity and independence. Thus we find Saeta thanking him for the gift of 115 head of cattle, and as many sheep to begin a ranch at Caborca. In 1700, when San Xavier was founded Kino rounded up 1400 head of cattle on the ranch of his own mission at Dolores, and dividing them into two droves, sent one of them under his Indian overseer, to San Xavier. In the same year he took 700 cattle from his own ranch, and sent them to

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Salvatierra, across the Gulf at Loreto—a transaction which was several times repeated."

During that long journey in Northern Mexico, Kino had often spoken to Salvatierra about the failure of the attempt to evangelize Lower California, to which his heart still clung, and he suggested to his companion that in his capacity of official Visitor he might make another effort to redeem the unfortunate people who lived there. It was true, he admitted, that the country was so barren that it could not be self-sustaining, but he was convinced that it would be an easy matter to convey provisions from fertile Pimería to the starving Californians if a ship could be constructed to transport to the other side of the Gulf whatever the future missionaries and people might need.

Salvatierra took fire at the idea, and, before they parted, ordered Kino to build the barque at any point he might select along the west coast of Mexico and assured him that he himself would further the project with all the power at his disposal. Salvatierra became later on the apostle of Lower California. He had found his vocation up in the forests of the Pimería. It was Kino who made him a great apostle.

It was not until 1694 that Kino attempted to build the ship. He was then among the Sobas on the Gulf, and with him were Father Campo and Captain Manje, the latter of whom has left a diary of that journey.

> On February 14, *he writes*, we climbed Mt. Nazareno, and from there we saw the waters of the Gulf and, on the other shore, four mountains which we called the Four Evangelists, and also a small island to the Northwest, with the three peaks of The Three Marys, while to the Southeast, we saw the island of the Seris which we called St. Augustin the Tiburon and others. On the 15th, we journeyed 12 leagues further and found ourselves on the shore, at a place which never since Sonora was settled sixty years ago had been reached by any white man. We saw more clearly than on the preceding day the mountains on the other side of the Gulf, whose width here we found out by our instruments to be about twenty leagues. We were then in 32° lat. On that day there were twenty-five baptisms of children and sick people, and there was every hope of bringing all the people of this great district into the bosom of the Church.

There Kino saw his chance to build his boat. For that purpose, he returned to the same place in March 16. with the

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captain and twenty workmen and all the axes and saws he could gather, but he was the only carpenter and builder in the crowd and he had first to instruct his followers how to use their tools.

On March 21, after celebrating Mass, he selected a tall poplar, 38 feet high, for the keel. Then, while the lumber was being felled, he hurried around among the recently discovered rancherias, remaining there till June. Meantime, at his request, the captain had started north, on a tour of discovery and on his return announced a most joyful bit of news. He had found the Gila River and the wonderful buildings on its banks. He had also visited the warlike tribes of that district, the Opas, the Cocomancopas and others who thus far had never been heard of.

Of course Coronado had been in those parts 150 years before, but the romantic stories that had been purposely spread abroad about his discoveries had been long dismissed as fiction or had been completely forgotten. Hence, Manje had substantially made a new discovery.

It was a very important as well as a very consoling find for an ardent apostle like Kino, but just as he had finished the hardest part of his shipbuilding an order came from Father Visitor Juan Munoz de Burgos to drop all work on his ship. He obeyed blindly, although he had been commissioned to begin the work by the Visitor, Salvatierra, and knew as no one else could, the great service the boat would render even to the Mexico missions. Nevertheless, he quietly returned to his post at Dolores.

Kino's account of this suspension of his ship-building labors differs from that of Alegre, for in Bolton's Vol. II, page 242 we read: "I suspended the building of the vessel since I discovered that in latitude 34½°, the Sea of California ended completely."

As if nothing had happened, he continued his apostolic work, and when the opportunity presented itself he journeyed to the Gila which Manje had told him about. Alegre, with Kino's papers in hand, describes in detail the famous structures along the river. Kino is said to have celebrated Mass in the largest of those ruined buildings, the famous Casa Grande. It was quadrilateral in form and four stories high. The rafters were of cedar and the walls of solid cement and masonry. It was divided into various compartments, some of them spacious enough for a considerable assembly. The tradition among the people was

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that Montezuma's predecessors built it on the way from the north to the southern countries where they ultimately settled. At a distance of three leagues from this Casa and on the other side of the river are the ruins of another edifice, which appears to have been still more sumptuous. Indeed the ruins at that place would indicate that at one time there had been not merely a palace but a whole city, and the natives assured the missionaries that there were other buildings further north which were marvelous for their symmetry and arrangements. Among them was a labyrinth which appears to have been a pleasure house of some great king. Excavators have discovered in various places, sometimes leagues away from these great buildings, shapely and variously colored slabs, and two leagues from the Casa Grande there was found the basin of a reservoir large enough to supply a populous city and to irrigate the fertile plains around for great distances; while to the west was a lagoon which was emptied by a narrow sluice. The regularity of the circular form of this lagoon and its rather contracted dimensions would suggest that it was the work of men were it not for its extraordinary depth. Holes had been cut into the solid rock which subsequently were found large enough to be used as storehouses for provisions for troops.

These ruins, however, do not appear to have interested Kino to any great extent. There were other ruins that worried him about that time. His own missions seemed to be facing universal destruction. He himself was being denounced in Mexico as conveying false information to the government about his Indians, who were accused of being in secret alliance with the Apaches, who were destroying the country and defying the Spaniards. Kino again and again had denied the truth of these charges, but he was not only not believed but was held up as a deliberate liar.

On March 29, 1695, the Pimas of Tubutama had as a matter of fact burned the priest's house and church, profaned the sacred vessels and then, starting down the river to Caborca, had, after murdering Father Saeta and desecrating the church, killed four servants of the mission. An armed force was quickly sent after them and succeeded in killing a certain number in the battle that ensued. Fifty of them then gave themselves up on a promise of

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immunity, but on arriving in camp they were brutally murdered. The troops then hastened to Cocospera, fancying that they had restored peace, but they were no sooner out of sight than the Pimas laid waste to the whole Tubutama Valley and destroyed every town on the San Ignacio River.

Where was Kino all this time? Quietly waiting to be killed at Dolores. He had concealed the sacred vessels in a cave and was kneeling in prayer, expecting the tomahawk or a poisoned arrow. But no one came. He was too much beloved by all the Indians to be injured in the least, even in their wildest excess of fury.

Of course the Spaniards ultimately won. They ravaged the whole country and slaughtered the savages until the entire tribe was terror-stricken and forced by hunger or fear of annihilation to sue for peace. Through the influence of the missionaries, a general pardon was granted, and then the work of reconciling the red men to the terrible whites had to be begun all over again.

In spite of appearances to the contrary, however, the Indians were not the real culprits. Kino went down to Mexico in 1695, and remained there till 1696, fighting fiercely to show that the guilt of the massacre should be laid at the door of the Spaniards themselves. Thus at Tutubama, where the uprising started. the superintendent was a monster of cruelty, using the lash for the most trifling offenses. His subaltern was still more heartless. Thus, happening to find some meat in a rancheria, he immediately put three Indians to death for cattle-stealing and flogged anyone he could lay hold of. After all this had been done, it was discovered that the meat which had been seized was not beef at all, but venison, and consequently that there had been no cattle-lifting.

Kino brought all this out, and he likewise vindicated his people from the charge of being in secret league with the terrible Apaches. In 1697 he went with Captain Manje and a troop of soldiers to report on the conditions prevailing after the massacre and, quite unexpectedly and by the merest accident, came upon a party of Pimas who were celebrating a war dance around thirteen Apache scalps. No more was needed to show the sentiments of the Pimas with regard to the Apaches.

Of course, when he returned to Dolores, he was received with the utmost enthusiasm by his people. Not only the Pimas but

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the Sobas and Sobaipuris came out to welcome him. They loaded him with gifts and made all sorts of promises of future good behavior, and he then set himself to the task of rebuilding the devastated rancherias.

Notwithstanding this return, however, to normal conditions and the great increase of his influence over the Indians, Kino still longed to devote himself to the regeneration of the degraded Californians, and he asked to be associated with Salvatierra, who had gone thither in 1697, but owing to the protest of the Pimas the Mexican Government positively refused to permit him to leave the district where his presence was so essential for peace.

Of course he submitted, just as he had done several years before when ordered by his superior to abandon his shipbuilding project, nevertheless he still heard the cry in his soul for California, and as he had been twice thwarted he determined to make an effort in another direction by an overland route.

The prevailing impression in Mexico at the time was that the barren tract on the other side of the Gulf was an island. The original explorers had set it down on their maps as a peninsula, but Francis Drake's narrative had upset that view, and it was commonly held to be an island, although Oñate's account had thrown some doubt on Drake's conclusion. Kino determined to settle that point, and he therefore began a series of journeys from Dolores which have placed him in the forefront of American explorers, not only because of the immense territory he visited and mapped out but because of the very important acquisition to geographical knowledge which resulted from his unwearied, persistent and painstaking investigations.

For him, however, the advancement of scientific knowledge was only a secondary consideration. His primary purpose was to carry out the plan which he and Salvatierra had formulated some years before of establishing a line of posts from Northern Mexico down to the end of Lower California—a plan worthy of these two great spiritual conquerors. If science were going to profit by it, so much the better. Such was the absorbing, heroic purpose of the last years of Kino's life.

In November, 1697, he and Captain Manje, after making the circuit of all the Pima reservations, directed their steps to the Gila Valley, and, besides reporting to the Government on the

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condition of the tribes, paid a special visit to the Casa Grande, of which they have left an accurate and detailed description. They returned to Dolores on December 2, after a journey of 260 miles in the wilderness.

In 1698, after recovering from a severe illness, Kino again started north with Diego Carasco and some Indian guides. He arrived at San Andrea where, after sending some couriers to the Opatas and Comaricopas, whose whereabouts is indicated on Kino's map of 1701 (Bancroft, xv, p. 279), he turned west, intending, as he himself states in his writings, to climb a mountain there in order to see the surrounding country and, if possible, the waters of the Gulf. On October 1, a violent fever made him retrace his steps, but at San Andrea he was consoled by meeting a great number of Cocomaricopas, who had started out to welcome him even before his couriers had arrived in their country. These Indians resembled the Pimas in their customs, but especially in their mildness and docility. They were strong, robust and handsome. They had long known of his affection for the Pimas, and that served to attract them, especially, as for some years back he had been sending his greetings to them. They all wanted to be baptized, but he could do nothing but promise to visit them as soon as possible. Then, after having appointed a governor for them as well as a captain and a fiscal, he sent them home happy

From there he and his party went to San Rafael de Actien, where with his astrolabe he took the altitude of the sun and found it to be 52°, "an observation," says Alegre, "which enables us to correct all the old maps of the Pimería; for given that San Rafael was at elevation 52° and that the observation was in the beginning of October, it will be found that the situation of that place was at 32° 30′ 45″ N. L."

"Arrived at San Mateo," continues Alegre (iii, p. 104), and he is quarreling with the author of the *Afanes* on this point, "Kino climbed the mountain of Santa Brigida and saw quite near to him the Gulf of California with a port or bay which, because it was in latitude about 32½°, must have been what the old cosmographers called the Santa Clara range." In Alegre's text, we find latitude 23½°, which is evidently 33½°. "From its summit, I saw," says Kino himself, "I clearly descried the

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beach at the mouth of the Colorado, but as there was a fog on the sea I could not make out the California coast." On another occasion, however, namely in 1694, he and Juan Mates had seen the other side from a point lower down the coast, viz., from Mt. Nazarene de Caborca. A point of identification left by Kino was that the mountain on which he stood in 1698, had been once a volcano. The marks of it were all around him.

Kino could not then pursue his exploration to the mouth of the river. His guides and companions refused to go any further, so he had to turn homeward. On the way back, however, he was consoled by discovering more than "4,000 souls," to use Alegre's expression, "in rancherias which were until then unknown to him. He baptized about 400 babies and sent little presents to his Indian friends along the Colorado and Gila," or, as Kino spells it, "Hila." After making arrangements for future explorations he set out for Dolores, which he reached on October 18 after a journey of 300 leagues,

In 1699, he was joined by his friend Captain Manje, and they resolved to reach the Colorado itself and go down the stream to the mouth. But they failed to find guides, for it was an unfriendly country, and so the disappointed men again returned to Dolores. Kino was seriously ill on his arrival, but was on his feet again in October when the Visitador, Father Leal, wanted to inspect the country. The official got no further than Bac, while Kino and Manje started west, but did not succeed in going far, and were at the mission again in November.

On September 24, 1700, Kino attempted a new route. Striking the Gila east of the bend, he followed its course down to the Yuma country. After settling a quarrel between the Yumas and their neighbors, he climbed a high hill to explore, but saw only land. He then crossed to the north bank of the Gila with some Yumas and journeyed on to their principal rancheria, which he called San Dionisio, because the day of his arrival was the feast of that saint, October 9. There he ascended another mountain and this time was rewarded. The sun was setting as he reached the summit, but he clearly saw the river running 10 leagues west of San Dionisio and, after a course of 20 leagues south, emptying into the Gulf. From another hill to the south he saw before his eyes the sandy stretches of Lower California.

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He had at last succeeded, and on his return to his mission post he received a letter of congratulation from the Governor.

The news had evidently reached Salvatierra, who was then in Mexico begging for his starving Indians and thinking seriously of giving up the mission. It was a matter of life or death to find out whether or not California was a peninsula. He found Kino's old friend, Captain Manje, and together with eleven soldiers and some Indians they started north. Of course Kino joined them on the way.

On March 21, they found themselves on the shores of the Gulf in latitude 32°, from which place they clearly saw the mountain on the other side. The line ran from Northwest to Southeast in the form of a bow, but a line of peaks on the Mexican side prevented the explorers from seeing whether or not there was a junction of the two ranges.

To settle the doubt, Salvatierra, Kino and the captain left their men in the care of the adjutant and started north. They succeeded in making about 15 or 20 leagues and another 8 or 10 were necessary to obtain absolute certainty, but one thing or another made them retrace their steps. Salvatierra however, was convinced that he had proved his point and so was Kino, but the captain refused to be convinced.

The two friends bade each other good-bye at St. Marcelo, Kino going east to S. Javier del Bac to visit his Sobaipuris, and Salvatierra to California, not, however, before informing the Provincial and Father General Gonzalez of the discovery.

In pursuance of a promise made to Salvatierra, Kino set out again on November 3, 1701. He was ill and alone—for Manje was off hunting Apaches—and the solitary Spaniard who had volunteered to go with him, deserted, but his Pimas and Mumas were at his side to the number of about 200.

He arrived at San Dionsio and then traveled a whole day down the east bank of the Colorado. On November 21 he asked to be taken across. The Indians complied with his wish, built a small raft and, with the chief and his braves swimming after it and pushing it ahead of them, succeeded in reaching the other bank. The river there was about 200 yards wide and very deep and swift, so that there was no hope of getting a horse across. Hence his journey down the western side of the river did not

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extend over nine miles, for his age prevented him from undertaking what he could easily have accomplished in his earlier days. He was consoled, however, by an immense concourse of Coanopas and Giopas who were eager to receive the Faith. They gave him some comfort of a scientific kind also, for they increased his collection of blue shells which had been brought from the west coast of California, which they told him was only ten days away. They also assured him that a single day's journey would bring him to the mouth of the Colorado. But he had no horses and could go no farther on foot. He was sixty-seven years old, and once more he returned to Dolores, which he reached on December 7.

The wonderful old man, however, was not yet satisfied. He would make one more attempt and with Father Gonzales, a new arrival in the missions, he set his face to the west, reaching San Dionisio by the way of Sonoito and from there went down to Santa Isabel. "*From this point,*" says Bancroft (xv, p. 500), "*they were in new territory. Going down the river they reached tide-water on March 5, 1702, and on the 7th, the very mouth of the river. Nothing but land could be seen on the south, west and north. Surely, they thought there can be no estrecho, and California is a part of America.*"

Kino wanted to cross to the other shore, but the horses could not attempt it. No doubt he sighed when he thought of the boat which the Visitador had forbidden him to build, but of course he did not regret having obeyed. His companion, Gonzalez, was sick, so they turned their steps towards Dolores, where he had to sit down and write a letter to his Superiors to assure them that neither he nor Gonzalez had been drowned. He never saw the Gila or Colorado again.

Nevertheless, he still kept on exploring. In 1704, he opened a new route to the Guaymas by way of Nacameri and Populo, and in January and February of 1706 he advanced south and west from Caborca, over land never before explored, until he reached the Gulf shore, where he discovered an island which he named Santa Iñes, and a more distant land which may have been California.

In October and November of that year, we find him with two military men and a Franciscan Friar climbing Santa Clara Moun-

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tain and camping there for the night. In the morning Kino took his last look at the Gulf and the river mouth in the hazy distance.

According to Clavigero these journeys totalled about 20,000 miles. It is almost incredible, but Bolton tells us that "Kino's endurance in the saddle was worthy of a seasoned cowboy." Thus when he went to the City of Mexico in 1695, he travelled no less, on that single journey, than 1500 miles; and he did it in 53 days. Two years later, when he reached the Gila on the north, he did seven or eight hundred miles in 30 days. In 1699, on his trip to and from the Gila he made 720 miles in 39 days; in 1700, 1,000 miles in 26 days; and in 1701, 1,100 miles in 35 days. He was then nearly 60 years of age.

Alegre tells us that "of the four last years of Father Kino's life there is no mention in the manuscripts of the time."

> But, *he adds*, it is impossible to conceive either that the calumnies of which he and his Pimas were the object, or the privations to which he had to submit, or the labor he had to assume could have crushed into inaction and depression his dauntless and untiring soul. On the contrary we are persuaded that during those four years the Lord was exercising the heroic patience of his valiant soldier. Very likely his many infirmities, increased by his great and laborious undertakings, as well as by the burden of advancing years, compelled him to put an end to his journeying and to await quietly in his Mission of Dolores the approaching end of his apostolic career.
>
> His devotion to the great Apostle of the Indies to whom he owed his life had prompted him to add the name of Francis to the one he had received at the baptismal font, and to clothe himself as it were with that same zeal and fervor for the conversion of the Gentiles in the Indian missions. With that in view he had refused the honor which the Duke of Bavaria had proposed to confer upon him as the occupant of the Chair of Mathematics in the University of Inglostadt, though he could not escape the glory which his great abilities won for him at the time of the appearance of the comet of 1680 and also in his subsequent controversy with Mexico's most famous mathematician, Don Carlos de Siguenza y Gongora.
>
> Kino was the first who on a large scale and with anything like assurance of stability suggested the organization of the California missions, to which he would have devoted his life had not his Superiors judged that his presence was indispensable in the Pimería—a loss to the Peninsula—which he made up for by inspiring the great Salvatierra to undertake the work and by his labors for the Peninsula during the time that he was building up the Pima missions. His success was, under heaven, due to his zeal, patience and perseverance. Forever persecuted and calumniated not only in his own personal reputation but in that of his neophytes, by

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people of the world and even on one occasion by his own associates, he carried forward the work of the Lord for twenty-four years almost alone, compelling justification at every step and proving triumphantly, by the security he enjoyed in the course of his thousands of miles of journeys among them, the loyalty not only of his own Pimas but of the other nations whom he had led to the Faith. He baptized more than 40,000 infidels, and would have baptized ten times more if he could have cherished any hope of providing them with priests to keep them in the Faith. He travelled many thousands of leagues, and visited so many nations, instructed and civilized so many rancherias that, as the author of *Afanes apostolicos* says, all the zealous missionaries who labored in the 50 years after his death could not collectively have traversed a third part of the pueblos, nations and tribes which this apostolic man converted, instructed and trained in Christianity.

All this is only a rough outline [says Alegre], of the exterior occupations of Father Kino, but it would be impossible to portray the exalted virtue which, amid all his overwhelming labors, stimulated his zeal and made him a worthy instrument in the salvation of souls. During all his missionary career two sheepskins were his bed. His covering was a coarse blanket and his pillow a halberd. Such was the couch on which he stretched his weary limbs after his long and painful journey; on it he rested when grievously ill and on it he breathed his last. His companion, Father Campus, stood over him weeping bitterly but loving him all the more for his humility, poverty and mortification. His death was so holy because during his life, he spent the greater part of the night in prayer, and when at home in the chapel at the altar. Velarde his companion for eight years, always saw him enter, but no matter how long he watched could never see him leave it. He not only prayed, but this nocturnal adoration was accompanied by a bloody discipline which on one occasion his Indians happened to see, only to be amazed and terrified. More than a hundred times a day he visited the Blessed Sacrament, imitating in this respect the great Apostle of Ireland, so that his whole life was a continual prayer. He had the gift of tears, not merely when saying Mass, which he never omitted, but while reading the breviary, a duty which he always fulfilled on his knees. The names of Jesus and Mary were continually on his lips, and when any one used injurious words in speaking to him he replied in the sweetest manner and even tenderly embraced the offender. His conversations were always of God, of the Blessed Mother, of the conversion of the Gentiles. His frequent and high fevers were cured by fasting for five or six consecutive days, but, indeed, even outside of those occurrences his fare was meager and coarse, without salt, and with no other condiment but a few insipid herbs which he took, though the doctors protested. The harshness and austerity exercised on himself was converted into sweetness and tenderness for his Indians to whom he gave everything he could get either by begging or by any industry he could employ in their behalf. Finally, he was a per-

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fect example of an apostolic missionary. It was commonly said of him: 'To discover new territories and to convert souls is Father Kino's office. It was while saying Mass before a picture of the dying St. Francis Xavier that he felt the first stroke of the illness that ended his life. It seemed as if the great missionary of the East was opening the door of Heaven for his loving disciple, who was one of the greatest missionaries of the West.'

We have overstepped [continues Alegre], the limits of a historical eulogy in what we have said of this great man; but it was because of our grief that nowhere in our Menology, is there any mention of this illustrious hero. The scant notices in the records of California and the *Afanes Apostolicos* are not enough to enable us to appreciate him in any way commensurate with his work.

REV. THOMAS J. CAMPBELL, S.J.,
New York City.

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MISCELLANY

THE BEGINNINGS OF IRISH CATHOLIC JOURNALISM IN AMERICA

By Rev. Dr. Paul J. Foik, C.S.C.

The period that ushered in the French Revolution wrought many changes in the condition of Europe, but nowhere, except in France itself, were institutions so modified, and modes of thought so affected, as in the British dominions. England had just passed through one of the severest conflicts of her history—the Seven Years' War. Hardly had her guns ceased their thunders in this contest when her American colonies revolted and carried their struggle for liberty to a successful issue. The mother-country was still bewailing the misfortune which the egregious folly of her misrule had brought about, when the tumultuous chaos of the great Napoleonic wars, like another deluge, spread destruction and desolation upon a world already sickened with a thousand woes. The waves of enmity and discontent rose high and swept across the whole of Europe. No country on the Continent stood unshaken by the blows of that bitter conflict. Far and wide, swift as the cannon's shot, proceeded the cry of liberty—prophetic sound!—that made kings tremble on their thrones and awoke within the hearts of men a new and strange enthusiasm. This flood had not yet abated its fury when Ireland, still burdened with the chains of English oppression, attempted to tear from her the trammels of a wicked system based on royal prerogative.

The soul of this movement was the Society of United Irishmen founded in 1791. Its primitive idea was to unite the Catholics and Protestants to bring about a much needed parliamentary reform for Ireland, and to improve its system of government.[1]

As early as 1792 the Society warned the Government of England against a continuance of its abuses, and threatened that, unless reforms were forthcoming, the people would soon be driven to embrace republicanism. The great minds of Ireland, at last thoroughly aroused, sought objects on which to employ their energies. Their thoughts were directed towards every means that would speedily alleviate the hardships and sufferings of their fellow-countrymen. Then was born that intellectual activity and moral earnestness which was to stir the souls of all true Irishmen, not only in their native land but also in that of their adoption—the United States of America.

This movement made itself forcibly felt through the medium of the press. The chief organs of the United Irishmen were the *Northern*

[1] *History of Irish Periodical Literature*, by Robert R. Madden. London: T. C. Newby, 1867, Vol. ii, p. 235.

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Star[2] and the *Dublin Press*[3] both established in the nineties. The chief editor of the *Northern Star* was Samuel Neilson.[4] With him were associated eleven others, of whom the greater number were in the course of a few years counted among New York's foremost citizens.

Dr. Madden states that "the grand object of these papers seems to have been to keep the example and events of the French Revolution constantly before the eyes of the people."[5] The *Dublin Press*, during its brief existence, had many able contributors. Men of so wide literary reputation as Thomas Moore were writers for this paper. He, however, did not contribute matter of any particular moment. Among these men of letters were persons who soon afterwards became prominent in the early history of New York City. The "Montanus" Letters of Thomas Addis Emmett, written in the *Press*, excited the most attention. William Sampson, another of New York's citizens, wrote over the pen-name "Fortesque." Dr. MacNeven, their companion in exile, was also a man of considerable culture.[6]

While these Irish patriots were still in the midst of their struggles for liberty in the Emerald Isle, branches of the Society were being formed in America. We see traces of these activities as early as 1794. Mathew Carey, William Duane and others assisted the efforts of the parent society by their fearless advocacy of its doctrines, and that in the face of a Federalist opposition which was at that time beginning to manifest itself.[7] Reprints of the principal articles in the *Press* were published from the office of the *Aurora*, the mouthpiece of the Jeffersonian party.[8] The headquarters of the American branch of the United Irishmen gave aid and impulse to their friends across the sea, supplying them with funds—and arms were even promised should necessity demand such assistance.[9]

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[2] *History of Irish Periodical Literature*, by R. R. Madden. London: T. C. Newby, 1867, Vol. ii, pp. 225–235.

[3] *Lives and Times of the United Irishman*, by R. R. Madden. London: J. Madden & Co., 1843, Vol. ii, Series 2, pp. 294–304.

[4] Samuel Neilson became an Irish exile in America and settled at Poughkeepsie, N. Y. See *History of Irish Periodical Literature* as cited above.

[5] *History of Irish Periodical Literature*, cited above, Vol. ii, p. 233.

[6] *Ibid.*, Vol. ii. Also *Lives and Times of the United Irishmen*, Vol. ii, Series 2, under their respective names. See also biography of Arthur O'Connor for details, regarding the *Press* in Vol. ii, Series 2. Also see *Ninety-eight and Forty-eight*, by A. S. New York: 1856, pp. 203-4.

[7] *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. iv, p. 69. Boston, 1904. Article by Edward O'Meaher Condon on *Irish Immigration to the United States since 1790*. Reprint from the *Pilot*, Boston, Mass.

[8] *Ibid.*, p. 89. Also *Ninety-eight and Forty-eight*. See footnote, p. 205.

[9] *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, cited above.

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The English Government looked with some apprehension on the strength and influence wielded by this sympathetic organization in America, and Sir Robert Lister, then Minister to the United States, set to work systematically to check, if possible, this concerted movement made by the members and friends of the Society in America.[10]

Sir Robert's efforts were, unfortunately, only too successful. He was on terms of closest intimacy with some of the highest officials in the American Government, and persuaded them that the presence of these Irish enthusiasts was a menace to American institutions and liberty.[11] The psychological moment arrived when the rebellion broke out in Ireland in 1798. Under pretense of danger from the Society of United Irishmen and their sympathizers in this country, President Adams took occasion to address a message to Congress, impressing members with the necessity of passing some suitable legislation relative to the admission of foreigners to the country and their residence here.[12] By the passage of this Alien Law a dangerous autocracy was established. Foreigners remained in the country at the mercy of the President. If they earned his displeasure, or if they were regarded as "dangerous," they might be compelled to undergo a term of imprisonment, to suffer perpetual disqualification from the rights of citizenship, or be obliged in the end to quit the country. At best they were merely tolerated, since fourteen years must elapse before they received the full rights of citizenship.[13]

As might naturally be expected, the opposition press, controlled principally by Irishmen,[14] challenged the President's action and criticized the Alien Law with a just severity. But Mr. Adams was not to be daunted. He succeeded in influencing Congress to pass a law which would make it a seditious libel to reflect on the conduct of the chief executive or to question the motives of Congress.

When the English Minister heard of the passage of the law, his joy knew no bounds. In a letter written in 1799 to the Governor-General

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[10] *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, cited above.

[11] *Ibid.*, p. 89.

[12] *The Irish in America*, by Edward O'Meagher Condon, p. 259.

[13] *Ibid.*, p. 259. Also *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, cited above, p. 89.

[14] *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. iii, p. 63. Article on "Men of Irish Blood Who Have Attained Distinction in American Journalism," by Michael Edmund Hennessy, of the staff of the *Boston Daily Globe*. Matthew Lyon was the first to suffer under the Sedition Law. By a strange irony of fate Adams was defeated by the vote of Lyon when up for reelection against Jefferson. John Daly Burke was another man on whom Adams kept a sharp eye, intending to give him to British authorities. Aaron Burr, knowing this, aided Burke to escape. See Journal cited above, Vol. iii, p. 62 *et seq.*

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of Canada, he related that some of the Federalists had "taken the law in their own hands and flogged one or two printers of the newspapers whose comments had offended them"; he told how this conduct "had given rise to much animosity, to threats, and to a commencing of armed associations among those opposed to the laws, particularly among the United Irishmen." "Some apprehended," he added, "that the affair may lead to civil war."[15]

This unjust attack on the liberty of Irish immigrants was also carried on with even greater malevolence at the seat of government in England. In this persecution, Rufus King, the American Minister at the Court of St. James, was to play a conspicuous part. The failure of the Irish Rebellion in 1798 led to the imprisonment of many of the leaders of the Society of the United Irishmen. In the latter part of that year, however, Thomas Addis Emmett, acting as a spokesman for his compatriots, obtained from the British Government a promise of perfect freedom[16] for them on condition that they would immediately quit English territory, never to return. They applied to the American Minister for passports to the United States—but Mr. King, in accordance with the wishes and sympathies of President Adams, refused to grant their request. Mr. Marsden, the Under Secretary of State, informed the prisoners, then confined in Fort George, Scotland, that Mr. King had remonstrated with the British authorities and bitterly opposed the emigration of these unsuccessful patriots to America. When asked by them why Mr. King hindered their departure to the United States, the Under Secretary evasively replied: "Perhaps Mr. King does not desire to have republicans in America." This refusal on the part of Mr. King to assist the Irish state prisoners gave a pretext to the government of Great Britain to detain them four years longer in confinement.[17]

At last the day of their deliverance came. About 1804 or thereabouts, the released patriots landed in America. Shortly after their arrival these exiles learned, with feelings of pain, the monstrous misrepresentations to which the majority of Irishmen were subjected. The

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[15] *Journal of the American Irish Historical Society*, Vol. iv, pp. 89-90.

[16] The text of this treaty and its history, written by Dr. MacNeven, may be found in *Pieces of Irish History, Illustrative of the Conditions of the Catholics in Ireland, of the Origin and Progress of the Political System of the United Irishmen and of their Transactions with the Anglo-Irish Government*, published by W. J. MacNeven. New York: Bernard Dornin, 1807, p. 169 *et seq.*

[17] *The Irish in America*, by Edward O'Meagher Condon, pp. 260-61. See also *Letter of Rufus King to Henry Jackson, Esq.*, also *Letters of Thomas Addis Emmett to Rufus King*. (These may be found in *Pieces of Irish History, etc.*, cited above, pp. 281, etc. These letters may also be found in the files of the *Shamrock* for 1816, starting about March).

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influence exercised against them by a hostile press was enormous; added to this were the bitter prejudices of the Puritanical Federalists, who scorned these foreigners as "bog-trotters" and "wild Irishmen."[18] Dr. MacNeven, writing shortly after his arrival in New York City, does not exaggerate the condition of affairs existing in this country when he states that "the same virulence and invective, the same violation of truth, the same distortion of fact, that marked the conduct of the English faction towards the United Irishmen in Europe, have been revived against them here by the retainers and hirelings of the same enemy."[19]

Self-protection, the bond that united Irish in Ireland in '98, now united these exiles and their sympathizers in America. The latter union was, however, a peaceful one, and consisted in the formation of such associations as the Juvenile Sons of Erin, Friends of Ireland, St. Patrick Benevolent Societies, and the like. The principal and very often the only local news items of the early Irish Catholic periodicals were the addresses and proceedings of such organizations. The purpose of these associations was, in some measure, the promoting of the external interests of Irishmen, especially the neutralization of existing prejudices sown broadcast by an unfriendly press, not only in America, but also in Europe. Hence it became necessary to encourage the formation of Irish periodicals in which the affairs of that nation might be truthfully stated. That need was to be met by Irish Catholic weeklies published principally in the two great centers of population, New York and Philadelphia.

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[18] *The Irish Scots and the "Scotch-Irish,"* by Hon. John C. Linehan, p. 72.

[19] *Pieces of Irish History, etc.* Introduction by W. J. MacNeven, cited above.

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DOCUMENTS

GUIDE TO THE MATERIALS FOR AMERICAN CHURCH HISTORY IN THE WESTMINSTER DIOCESAN ARCHIVES (1675-1798).

With the deprivation of the English Catholic hierarchy in 1559, a long period set in when the Church in the lands ruled by the English Crown was without episcopal leadership.[1] One of the main purposes of Elizabeth's government was to allow the imprisoned Catholic bishops to die off, one by one; and, having appointed Anglican bishops to their sees, to bring about a gradual change of religion.[2] With the single exception of Cardinal Allen, who was recognized at Rome as the representative of the English Catholics (1575-1594), there was no official head to the ancient Church in England. From 1598–1623 the Church there was ruled by the Archpriests Blackwell, Birkhead, and Harrison. From 1623–1655 Bishops William Bishop and Richard Smith were the recognized leaders. The following thirty years (1655–1685) were a period of interregnum.[3] In 1685, the English Vicariate-Apostolic was established with the appointment of Bishop John Leyburne. Three years later (1688), England was divided into four Vicariates, one of which was the Vicariate-Apostolic of London. From 1688 down to 1784, when John Carroll was elected Superior of the Missions in the Thirteen Original States, the jurisdiction of the London Vicars-Apostolic extended over all those territories in the New World where the rule of the English government was acknowledged. The question arises: What were the relations between the London Vicars-Apostolic and the Catholics in the English Colonies; and where should one search for materials for these relations? "The subject is an obscure one," writes Canon Burton, in his *Life and Times of Bishop Challoner*. "It has been passed over in absolute silence by all Dr. Challoner's biographers, and no information was available until Father Thomas Hughes, S.J., began his researches for his *History of the Society of Jesus in North America*."[4] Father Hughes has treated the problem of these relations in detail in his article: *The London Vicariate-Apostolic and the West Indies (1685-1819)*.[5]

The archival material for these relations is mainly to be found in three places: The Baltimore Diocesan Archives; the Archives of the Congregation of Propaganda Fide; and the Westminster Diocesan Archives. In the Baltimore Archives there are a few documents relating to the transition period under Bishop Challoner (1758-1781) and Bishop Talbot (1781–1784). The Propaganda Archives, which Shea used freely in the

[1] Phillips, *The Extinction of the Ancient Hierarchy*. London, 1905.

[2] Birt, *The Elizabethan Religious Settlement*. London, 1907; Meyer-McKee, *England, the Catholic Church under Elizabeth*, pp. 9-32. London, 1916.

[3] Ullathorne, *History of the Restoration of the Catholic Church in England*, p. 12. London, 1871.

[4] Vol. ii, pp. 123-148. London, 1909.

[5] *Dublin Review*, January, 1914, pp. 67–93, Vol. 124, No. 268.

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second volume of his *History of the Catholic Church in the United States*, have been catalogued by Fish in his *Guide to the Materials for American History in Roman and other Italian Archives* (Washington, D. C., 1911). Shea also made use of the Westminster Archives. Among the Georgetown College Transcripts there is a manuscript: *Notes of a search made in the Westminster Archives*, dated March 23, 1887, which was sent at that time to Shea by Monsignor Johnson.[6]

Westminster became the See of the old London District at the Restoration of the Hierarchy in England in 1850.[7] Since that date, the Archives of the London District have been in the custody of the Archbishops of Westminster. "The documents at Westminster dating from 1509 to 1700 are bound in thirty-seven volumes, to which there is a manuscript index. Since many of the proceedings referred to in the eighteenth-century manuscripts were illegal (Roman Catholic priests being then under the ban of the law), personal names are often indicated by initials, and many of the papers are unsigned and undated." In the *Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge*, by Charles M. Andrews and Frances G. Davenport (Washington, 1908), from which this quotation is taken (p. 339), there is a short list of documents (twenty in all) relating to American history before 1783 from these Archives.

In 1914, the Westminster Diocesan Archives were divided as follows: (1) Thirty-seven bound volumes of original documents concerning the Church in England and the English Colonies from 1509 to 1700; (2) many bundles of unbound documents, not then classified, covering the later period 1700-1850; (3) pamphlets and other manuscripts. There was also a bound MS. catalogue for the bound volumes by the late Father Stanton of the Oratory. The two historical students who have made use of these Archives are Bishop Ward and Canon Burton. In a letter dated October 12, 1918, Bishop Ward writes from Brentwood to say that he does not remember having seen many relating to America. The period he studied began in 1781, and Canon Burton has given us all that he found in his chapter on *Bishop Challoner's American Jurisdiction* (1758-1781).

During the war, many volumes have been added to the bound volumes of manuscript, and a reorganization of the Archives has been

[6] Another depot is the Archives of the Old Brotherhood of the English clergy, formerly the English Chapter. These were in 1914 in the possession of the Secretary of the Old Brotherhood, Rev. Raymond Stanfield, at Hammersmith. There is a catalogue of these Archives in the Fifth Report of the Historical MSS. Commission (1876, pp. 463-476); but it is far from being complete. The writer has in his possession a MS. Catalogue of these Archives given to him by the late Superior of the Oblates of St. Charles, Bayswater, London.

[7] WARD, *The Sequel to Catholic Emancipation*, Vol. ii, p. 281. London, 1915.

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carried on these past four years by Canon Burton. The main divisions of the Archives at Westminster, so far as regards material for American Church History, are now: (1) Bound volumes of Archives (1509–1799. *work proceeding*); (2) *Epistolae Variorum* (1700-1800) (not indexed); (3) *Correspondence of the Roman Agents* (this is all copied in bound volumes; and many of the originals are to be found in the Archives proper): (4) Bishop Challoner's Letter Book; and unclassified copy-books containing copies of letters, etc., such as may be found in (2).

The *Review* has undertaken a complete catalogue of references to America in these Archives through its London agent. Instructions were given to note every reference to America in general in these Archives from 1509 to 1799. No search, however, was made before the beginning of the seventeenth century, the agent being assured at Westminster that nothing was likely to be found before the beginning of the eighteenth century. The result was better than was expected, and the editor has been able to make use of the agent's personal notes in compiling this catalogue.

(1)

Archives, vol. xxxiv, 293, Feb. 29, 1675, in a copy of some "Special Missionary Faculties," mention is made of certain heretical books in America.

(2)

Ibid., Vol. xxxiv, 1037. Copy of Faculties granted (1685) by Bishop Leyburn to Fr. Thos. Church, for Jamaica.

(3)

Ibid., Vol. xxxv, 437. Nov. 13, 1687. Faculties granted by Bishop Leyburn to Fr. John Churchill, whom he appoints Superior of the Mission in Jamaica.

(4)

Ibid., Vol. xl, 173. Pamphlet, printed, 2 sheets. August 21, 1741. "The Defence of John Ury, made before the Supream Court in *New York*, at his Tryal for being concerned in the late Negro Conspiracy."

On the second sheet is given: "The Dying Speech of John Ury, Who was executed at New-York on Saturday the 29th of August, 1741, for being concerned in the Negro conspiracy." (It begins: "Fellow Christians!"). At the end is written in ink: "Printed by Andrew Bradford in Philadelphia."

(5)

Ibid., Vol. xl, 174. (Endorsed in faded ink: "Philadelphia, 1741"). One page; apparently that of a book or pamphlet; double columns; good print. "An abstract of a LETTER lately published in a neighbouring Colony, touching the horrid Practice and Delusions of some called NEW-LIGHT-MEN, lately sprung up in these parts."

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(6)

Ibid., Vol. xl, 115. Undated letter in Italian; written in faded ink on faded paper in a tiny illegible flourishing hand. It is an account of the English Mission given by the Abbé Nicolini to Benedict XIV. It is approximately dated by cataloguer; "Between 1741 & 1758." But in the text there is mention made of the "ultima guerra civile, del 1745, é 1746." The first two paragraphs relate generally to England, Ireland and Scotland. Then follows a paragraph on the Church in Maryland.

(7)

Epistolae Variorum, Vol. xii. May 15, 1749. Letter from Rev. Alban Butler at Douay to Monsigner Stonor at Rome.

"The better sort of People say Maurepas's [disgrace] is owing to a settlement he made of 200 Families in the Isle Tobago, for the English refused to give up Cape Breton. At least his misfortune caused great Joy in the elector of Hannover's court at London, and upon the news of it orders were given to evacuate Cape Breton." (Extract.)

(8)

Bishop Challoner's Letter-Book, p. 31. Bp. Challoner to "Mr. Abraham" (the Pope); letter describing political innovations of the English laws relating to the marriage of Catholics, and further oppressions of the latter. There is a passing reference to the American Colonies. (1753).

(9)

Ep. Var., xiii, 135. September, 1756. Letter from Bp. Challoner to Msgr. Stonor at Rome. Important. Deals with (1) State of religion in our American Settlements. (2) As to the Islands. (3) Jurisdiction over same. (4) Some have wished they should have a Bishop or Vicar-Apostolic.

Endorsed in Stonor's hand: "Answered Dec. ye 21. 1756."

This letter is quoted in full by Canon Burton. (*Life of Bp. Challoner,* vol. ii, pp. 125–127).

(10)

Ibid., xiv, 26. August 17. 1758. In a letter of Rev. W. Green, Douay, to Msgr. Stonor at Rome there is a reference to certain calumnies and aspersions cast upon missioners in Paraguay.

(11)

Ibid., xiv, 25. October 31. 1758. Letter from Bp. Challoner (Fisher) to Msgr. Stonor at Rome. "The powers for America *ad sexennium* are dated January 7, 1757, so that there are above four years before they expire." (Extract).

(12)

Archives, Vol. xli, 7. March 31, 1759. Cardinal Spinelli to Bishop Challoner. Faculties for the Colonies.

(13)

Ep. Var., Vol. xiv, 58. June 11, 1762. Letter from Bp. Challoner (Fisher) to Msgr. Stonor at Rome.

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"Your last favour was of March 9, in which you mentioned your having given in a memorial for the renewal of the extraordinary faculties March 4; which, I suppose, were then renewed; and have proceeded accordingly, by granting dispensations for Mariland: to which you know our faculties were extended by a grant of Ben. XIV. to Bp. Petre, January 29, 1757 (though he had always exercised jurisdiction there before). This extension was only *ad sexennium*, which expires next Janry. In the meantime I have not supposed that B. Petre's death made any alteration in this grant, but have gone on still giving faculties for those parts."

(14)

Ibid., xiv, 60. November 23, 1762. Letter from same (Deboren) to same. Refers to application received from S. C. Peter Lembec, a Jamaica merchant, has applied to the S. C. for a Missionary to Jamaica; for whose charges and expenses he will be responsible. Challoner is entrusted with the finding and sending out of this priest. But after making careful enquiries of many Jamaica merchants he can hear nothing of this Peter Lembec; "much less of any remittance from him." Jamaica sadly needs help, and "has the character of being a very wicked place." There are, no doubt, many Irish Catholics there, "such as they are." He will do his best to send a priest, can he identify Peter Lembec.

(Quoted by Burton, *ut sup.*, ii, p. 131.) This letter is translated into Italian in *Archives*, Vol. xli, 29.

(15)

In small MS. copy-book placed within Vol. i of *Epistolae Variorum*, containing copies of a few letters, No. 2 is a letter (copy) dated March 29, 1763, signed "Jacques, Evêque et Vic:", "Aux Acadiens de Southampton," exhorting them to peace and unity & cessation from quarrels, especially now in Paschal time. "Donné à Londres."

(16)

Ep. Var., Vol. xiv, 64. May 20, 1763. Letter from Bp. Challoner to "Mr. Christopher Stonor, to be left with Mr. Green, near the church of St. Jacques, at Douay. Near Calais in Flandres." (Endorsed by Msgr. Stonor; "anad. June ye 28, 1763").

About jurisdiction over the Islands, and the difficulties attending this. (Quoted by Burton, *ut sup.*, ii, p. 132.)

(17)

Archives, Vol. xli, 33. July 9, 1763. Cardinal Castelli to Bishop Challoner.

On the question of Jurisdiction in the English Colonies. The answer to this letter, translated by Shea, will be found in the ACHS *Researches*, Vol. xii, No. 1, 1895. Cf. Burton, *ut. sup.*, pp. 133-135.

(18)

Ep. Var., Vol. xiv, 72. (September 6, 1763). Letter from Bp. Challoner to Msgr. Stonor. Deplores the difficulty of administering the Islands, "at this vast distance from us," and declares that, "as to the missions upon the continent, to be sure, a bp. or Vic. Ap. in Canada or Florida would be most proper for them."

(Quoted by Burton, *ut sup.*, ii, p. 135.)

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(19)

Ibid., Vol. xiv. 72. February 28, 1764. Unsigned letter from Rome to Fr. Alban Butler, referring to the affairs of the Island of "Dominico" as to an "anecdote" of which the writer was not "fully apprized."

(20)

Ibid., Vol. xiv, 73. March 15, 1764. Letter from Bp. Challoner to Msgr. Stonor (c/o Mr. Green). Important. He deplores the loss of a long account of the Mission which he had sent to "Mr. Castell" (Cardinal Castelli) at the latter's request. He gives an account of the state of religion in America (continent & Islands); and refers to the scheme for a Canadian Bishopric. (This is one of the most interesting of Dr. Challoner's letters. Quoted in full by Burton, *ut sup.*, ii, pp. 135–137).

(21)

Ibid., Vol. xiv, 75. May 19, 1764. Same to same. "The miscarriage of that letter concerning the state of the colonies, gives me some apprehension lest another letter sent by the same channel some time after in answer to Mr. Castell desiring my sentiments concerning the repeal of the clause of the sexennium, may not have reached that gentleman's hands: if you find it has not, I will repeat it again; it having been much the same in substance as that which you remember I sent to Mr. Spinelli on the same subject." (Extract).

(22)

Ibid., Vol. xiv, 76. July 13, 1764. Rev. Alban Butler, London, to Msgr. Stonor. Has been waiting to receive his maps of the English counties completed, & those of other countries: "Virginia in four great maps, Jamaica in as many, and Canada also in four, half a guinea each, I thought [North America] superfluous, as your North America comprehends all this, except a greater extent of forests." Appended is a table of prices of maps. "North America in four sheets £0. 5. 0."

(23)

Ibid., Vol. xiv, 77. August 28, 1764. Letter from Bp. Challoner to Msgr. Stonor at Douay. (Endorsed by Stonor; "Ansd. Sept. ye 27, but to be made further use of at Rome." Further endorsed: "Further answered. Dec. ye 12 1764"). Part relating to America begins: "I am also applied to by the Padri," and concludes: "our acquisitions in Florida."

Quoted in full by Burton, *ut sup.*, ii, p. 137.

(24)

Ibid., Vol. xiv, 79. October 2, 1764. Same to same. "You will have received some time ago my last, with regard to fac: for our new acquisitions 'tis necessary we should know if we have, or have not the power of granting them. As to the rest, we are not ambitious of engrossing to ourselves a jurisdiction over places so remote and where we can be of so little service: but rather heartily wish that something could be done in the way which Mr. Castal was speaking of; the more because 'tis a great pity, so that many thousand Christians should be deprived of the Sact. of Confirmation. This want seems to call loudly for the attention of superiors." (Extract).

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(25)

Archives, Vol. xli, 39. December 24, 1764. Cardinal Castelli to Bishop Challoner. Regarding the Jurisdiction of the Church in the British Colonies.

(26)

Ep. Var., Vol. xiv, 81. February 15, 1765. Bp. Challoner to Msgr. Stonor at Douay. Settling two or three Vicars-Apostolic "in that part of the world is an object that certainly deserves the attention of our friends: but I forsee the execution of it will meet with very great difficulties: especially in Mariland and Pensilvania; where the padri have had so long possession, and will hardly endure a pt much less a B of any other institute, nor indeed do I know of any one of ours that would be fond of going amongst them; nor of anyone that would be proper for that station, who could be spared by us in our present circumstances." (Extract).

(27)

Ibdi., Vol. xiv, 83. May 31, 1765. Same to same. "I hope our friends will not stop the project of settling some Ap Vic in those parts you speak of. 'Tis morally impossible for us to have a proper superintendence over places so remote. And to let so many thousand Cath as there are in some of our Northeren Colonies, to remain entirely destitute of the Sact of Confirmation is what I am sure our friends [the Jesuits] will never suffer." (Extract).

(28)

Ibid., Vol. xiv, 102. September 12, 1766. Same to same. Alarm of the Jesuits on hearing of the proposed appointment of a Bishop for North America. Their opposition. The case of the Islands is even worse. (Quoted by Dr. Burton, *ut sup.* ii, p. 138).

(29)

Bishop Challoner's Letter-Book, p. 109. October 17, 1768. Letter to Fr. Fallon, O.S.F. on West Indian Mission. It is impossible, on account of his age and weakness and unnecessary on account of Fr. Fallon's "proceeding upon good and solid principles" to go fully into all the cases under discussion. By a recent Act of Parliament Catholics now had to present themselves before a Protestant minister to renew before him their contract of marriage. But this, he believes, does not apply to the Colonies. It is the duty of all Pastors to discourage Freemasonry. As to "the spl. jurisdiction in the Islands lately ceded by the French to G Br. the Holy See has thought proper p: interim to give it to us, till some other provision shall be made, which I heartily wish for, as being sensible of the impossibility of our having a proper superintendency over those and all the other British Islands lying at so great a distance, or even of our sending a Vic. G. with the power and necessary means to inspect all our . . . missions and to correct abuses &c." The priests in possession of Faculties before the cession of these Islands must renew them in London. His jurisdiction does not extend to the Danish or Dutch Islands. Is very sure the Sacred College would make no appointment in those parts without acquainting him.

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(30)

Archives, Vol. xli, 59. July 29, 1766. Redated March 1, 1769. Petition of the Provincial of the Discalced Friars Minor of St. Gregory the Great in the Philippine Islands to the Pope. Begs that an English convert doctor, now a Tertiary, may become a Franciscan Friar.

(31)

Small ms. copy-book inserted in Vol. i of Ep. Var. June 25, 1770. Copy of letter evidently from Bp. Challoner to the Bp. of Quebec. Signature illegible. Not in Challoner's writing. [Exact copy].

Monseigneur:

Le Zèle du Salut des Ames et surtout de celles qui ont si recemment embrassé la Verité en l'Amérique Septentrionale, que Votre Grandeur a toujours fait paroitre m'engage de vous addresser des Personnes qui se sont addressées icy a mon Ancien et moi pour nous demander du secours spirituel pour les pauvres Acadiens, qu'il n'est pas en Notre Pouvoire de leur fournir, d'autant moins qu'ils ne parlent que François et nous n'avons que très peu de Prêtres qui soient habiles en cette Langue. J'ai Vus plusieurs de cette partie de l'Amérique qui etoient Prisonniers à Southampton pendant la dernière Guerre, et j'ai admiré avec tous ceux, qui les connoissoient, leur Religion. Ils demandoient toujours en premier Lieu, comme ils devoient les secours spirituels, que leurs compatriotes vous demandent encore aujourd'hui. Nous avons alors fait ce que nous avons pu, pour eux, et Nous ne doutons aucunement que Vous ne fassiez ce même à present. Que s'ils ne sont pas soumis à Votre Jurisdiction, il sont sera aise d'obtenir de Rome les Pouvoirs necessaires aux Prêtres, qui y seroient destinés. S'ils sont sujets de la Grande Bretagne comme leurs voisins de la Nouvelle Ecosse, et qu'ils n'ont pas d'Ordinaire, nous pouvons nous même donner ces Pouvoirs. Ce que Je remarque pour faciliter l'approbation des Prêtres qu'on pourra y envoier." etc. etc.

Londres. 25 Juin, 1770. A. Monseig. de Quebec.

(32)

Bp. Challoner's Letter-Book. November, 1770. Letter to Fr. Fallon, O.S.F., on the West Indian Mission. It gives great offence in the Island that Mr. Fallon contemplates purchasing an estate—a Franciscan becoming a Planter. The Rule of St. Francis ought first to be studied "that nothing may be done contrary to the vow of Poverty. Yea, & our Holy Father the Pope too, to Whom belongs the dominion of whatever is acquired by a Franciscan." He is convinced of the necessity of a Superior for the Islands; "it is what I have recommended to the Holy See, but hitherto have not been able to obtain their appointing such a one." He himself is unable to discharge such duty properly. "But in the interim till they shall think proper to nominate one or more, I shall not venture to appoint one myself."

(33)

Archives, Vol. xli, 111. December 19, 1770. Pamphlet, printed. "A Pastoral Letter addressed to the Catholicks of the British Islands in the West

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Indies." Begins; "As the Catholicks of the British West Indian Islands, both priests and people, have been committed to our pastoral care and superintendency by the Holy See Apostolick," etc., etc., (Bp. Challoner).

(34)

Ibid., Vol. xli, 133. September 10, 1773. Bp. Challoner to the Cardinal Protector (Corsini). Description of the London District, in Latin. Towards the end occur the words: "De Americanis Coloniis et insulis Brittanico superio subjectis." The whole document is very illegible, even more so than is customary in Bp. Challoner's handwritting. Evidently a hasty copy of original.

(35)

Ibid., Vol. xli, 161. Undated, but probably 1773. List on half-sheet of letter-paper, in Latin. Bp. Challoner's writing. "Missioners in the W. Indies."

(36)

Ibid., Vol. xli, 207. Undated, probably 1773. Tiny slip in Bp. Challoner's writing. A list of the numbers of congregations in America. It runs:

Charles County 3675
St. Maries County abt 5000
St. George's County abt 2500
(?) Easton Shore abt 3000
Baltimore City abt 1300
Frederick abt 700
10375.

Pensilv. Philad. congreg. betwixt 2 & 3000. 3 Germans 4000.

(37)

Ibid., Vol. xli, 208. Undated, probably 1773. List of names of Jesuits. "*In Maryland*, John Lewis, Geo. Hunter. Bened Neale. Thos. Diggs. Cha. Roels. Jos. Mosely Ign. Matthews. James Walton. John Bolton. Pet. Morris *In Pensilvania*, Rob. Molyneux. Fer. Harmon Math. Manners. James Frambach. Jno Bapt de Ritter Bern. Rich."

(38)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, July, 25. 1782. Printed Pamphlet of three folio pages. "Extract of Proceedings respecting the Roman Catholics of the Province of Nova Scotia." Addressed to "The Honourable Sir Andrew Snape Hammond, Knt." Petition for a Relaxation or Repeal of "certain Grievious Laws, which in the Policy of former Times might seem necessary to be . . . but of later. . . have been deemed injurious and oppressive." June 18, 1782.

On July 4, the Lieutenant-Governor gave his assent to the Bill conferring the necessary relief (1) as to confirming titles to lands, etc.; (2) for suppressing Popery (*i. e.*, removing Catholic disabilities)

On July 6, the five petitioners returned thanks to the Governor, Council, and House of Assembly.

On July 8, they wrote an open letter to the Faithful of the Province announcing the Repeal, and declaring they relied on the assistance of the humane and well-disposed to erect a decent building for public worship, and to provide a settled Pastor; "great poverty having cursed us, the result of the unhappy contest between our Mother-country and the colonies on the continent." (Summary).

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(39)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 39. July 9, 1783. Monsignor Stonor to Bishop Talbot. Long letter, mutilated on last page. Relates to Regulars and to American affairs. "In regard to your American affairs he [Mgr. Borgia] told me that measures were taking for settling some sort of Epal government for the Caths on ye continent. I guess the thing is managed by the French Ministry. He added as to your facs that they remain as usual in regard to ye British Islands but the provinces on the continent being no longer subject to the British government, and that acknowledged by treaty, those faculties as far as they relate to them cease of course."

(40)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 44. January 14, 1784. Letter to Bp. Talbot from three gentlemen of Waterford. This letter is mis-stated in the Catalogue to be from the Bishop of Waterford; but in the text the following sentence occurs; "We presume our Bishop will in a few days," etc. The Roman Catholics of St. Johns, Newfoundland, have appointed the undersigned Commissioners, having obtained permission for the full exercise of their religion; and have unanimously called for the Rev. Mr. James O'Donell "of this city," to become their Pastor; he possessing a knowledge of Irish and of English, "the former absolutely necessary." He is to bring with him two other clergy from the diocese, as 78 per cent?] of the inhabitants of N. F. L. are from thence. "The favour and request we have now to make to your Lordship is that you will be pleased to vest and give full power to Mr. O'Donell for this mission, in order that it may be under his directions while there . . . and that no clergyman be suffered to officiate there but with his approbation;" the reason being that several apostate priests were in N. F. L., "a disgrace to themselves, to us, and our Holy Religion." *Signed* James Keating, Pat. Ganly, John Commins.

(41)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 45. January 18, 1784. Letter to Bp. Talbot from John Thayer, Paris.

Most Revd. Sir,

The writer of ys letter is a native of Boston in America. After being a preacher in our heretical sect for more than two years, I came to Europe to gratify a strong thirst of useful knowledge. After a considerable time passt at Paris and London, I went to Rome. Excited by a curiosity of being exactly informed of evrything in yt city, I sought able persons to give me a full idea of the Catholic Faith, which pleased me to such a degree, that touched by omnipotent grace I've chearfully embrac'd it, at ye cost of ev'ry apparent worldly interest. Burning with zeal to impart to others that felicity which I experience myself I offered myself to ye Chief Pontiff for missions in my country." The Pope referred him to the Nuncio at Paris, who "thinks that the combination of my circumstances will cause two great eclat tho' the greater part of my friends at Rome & in France think yt this very combination wou'd naturally open the mission. However, it is not for me to judge. I therefore submit myself to ye Pope as to Christ." As his wish is not extinguished by the objections made he proposes to return to America in the spring

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and to become a missioner among his friends. The purpose of the letter is to beg Bp. Talbot and the faithful of his acquaintance "to furnish me with the most able Controvertists and other books, such [as] short but faithful expositions of our doctrine, lives of ye Saints, ye best Catholic translations of ye bible, with whatever other books you may think adapted to remove prejudices and promote the great work. Surely you've a most ardent desire of enlightening that part of America [New England], which since its establishment has been the most envenom'd enemy to the catholic faith. Ignorance however has certainly been the cause, for the greatest sincerity and candour reign among them. . . . My confidence in God is great, tho' perhaps crosses are prepared for me; but crosses must precede the crown. Considering ye shortness of the time, you'll have ye goodness to acnow ys by the first opportunity by the same chanel by which you receive it . . . Whatever your zeal may excite you to do in ye good cause, I must pray you to do at your expence, both for the books and freight, I being utterly unable to defray the smallest expense. Shou'd you be dispos'd to correspond to my wishes, you'll have ye goodness to mark ye manner ye most easy of receiving your favours, for I can't point out a place to receive them, not knowing yet where I shall embark. I am, with all the respect due to your sacred character,

Your most humble servt

John Thayer.

(42)

This letter was wrongly placed in the Archives among the June documents of 1784. I believe it should occur here. See (49).

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 59. January 19, 1784. Letter from Fr. James Lewis O'Donell, O.S.F. to Bp. Talbot. Having been unanimously chosen by the Newfoundlanders to be their Spiritual Director, "I've consented to struggle with the difficulties of a voyage of 600 leagues, and the severity of a climate immoderately cold, to endeavour to promote the Honor of God in Interest of Religion." He has studied in Rome, has been Professor of Theology and Philosophy for four years in Prague, and afterwards appointed Commissary Visitator of the Province of Ireland. He was then made "Diffinitor," and in 1779 unanimously elected Provincial. "Should your Lordship think proper to gratify these people by appointing me for that mission I hunbly beg leave to inform you that it would be absolutely necessary to grant me Vicarial Power, as a fence against many unworthy Incroachers, who intend not only to goe to that country but even say they'l apply to you for Jurisdiction, the Bulk of the Inhabitants of New Found Land are Ignorant labouring men from this neighbourhood, and as it has been the general haunt of many immoral people these 40 years past, I foresee I must stumble upon many difficult cases, and as I have no opportunity if recurring to you but once a year it woud be necessary to grant me as ample and full power as possible."

(43)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 47. February 4, 1784. Letter to Bishop Talbot from Dr. Egan, Bishop of Waterford, Clonmel, Ireland. The inhabitants of St. John's Newfoundland, who are mostly from Waterford, have applied to him to send them a priest; but he in answer, while encouraging their pious wishes, has said

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that the matter depended rather on Bp. Talbot, "as it was always understood by us here, that the spiritul concerns of the Catholics in the Colonies of Great Britain were subjected by the Holy See to your jurisdiction, and that therefore, you principally were to be address'd by them on the occasion . . . They have, I believe, accordingly taken the liberty of addressing themselves to your Lordship." Follows a eulogy of Fr. James O'Donell, O.S.F., of "unexceptionably irreproachable conduct," and a zealous and regular preacher, "both in English and Irish, the latter highly necessary," as "most of them, on whom his labours are to be employ'd, speak nothing else." He was highly esteemed in the Order, of which he has been Provincial. The Bishop will miss him greatly, but will allow him to go, "as I persuade myself that his Mission will be serviceable, not alone to the Catholicks from these parts, trading to and residing in Newfoundland, but also to many others, particularly to the Natives, those born there, who tho' descended from European Parents, live and die alas! in the most deplorable ignorance of, and insensibility to, what regards their salvation, without instruction without sacraments, without sacrifice, and without the means of obtaining them. My heart has often bled for them in their forelorn situation, and I cannot but rejoyce" that through God's mercy these disabilities will now be removed. "If your Lordship will judge it adviseable to grant jurisdiction to Mr. O'Donel, your own discernment will best point out to you the measure, in which it will be fitting to extend it to him. Were I, however, to presume to hint an opinion to you, it wou'd be, that he be intrusted with your Vicarial Power, for such a limited time, as you will think proper, in Newfoundland. This will give to him all our ordinary communicable Faculties, which, considering personal and local circumstances there, seem to be absolutely necessary for him." Many invalid marriages are to be validated. It would even be desirable that he should have extraordinary Faculties from the Holy See; "for I foresee he will want them; they however may, under your Lordship's sanction, be explicitly obtained for him hereafter."

Another reason for his being entrusted with Vicarial power is the case of several Irish apostate priests of infamous character, who are scandalizing the faithful, and even the adversaries of religion. These must be "entirely discountenanc'd or at least reduc'd to proper subordination and regularity."

Two other priests have been applied for by St. John's. The Bp. of Waterford cannot spare them. He hopes another Franciscan may accompany Fr. O'Donell, and will communicate further with Bp. Talbot. In a postcript he adds that his Metropolitan, Dr. Butler, (of Cashel), "coincides entirely in sentiment" with him, upon the subject of a choice for St. John's.

(44)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 48. March 9, 1784. Letter from Monsignor Stonor at Rome to Bishop Talbot, chiefly relating to the English College. He hopes the application of the good people of Canada will meet with a favourable reception, "tho' I foresee difficulties." Notwithstanding promises, little has been done for the Catholics in the United Provinces. "It must be some satisfaction to you that you are now no more concerned in what passes in that country."

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(45)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 52. June, 1784. Autograph letter of Bishop Talbot to the Cardinal Protector [Antonelli], about Newfoundland. "Accepi litteras de Superioribus ab ipsa [Sacra Congregatione] constitutis in Insula Terrae Novae et simul in tredecim [? Provinciis] Americae Septentrionalis, nostrae olim jurisdictioni subjectis," & c., & c., Ends: "Humillimus et obsequentissimus servus."

(46)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 53. June 5, 1784. Brief from Cardinal Antonelli, at Rome, to Bishop Talbot. Latin. Directed by Monsignor Stonor. Endorsed by Bp. Talbot: "Mr. O'Donnell constituted superior of Newfoundland." Ordinary Faculties of a missionary for Fr. James Louis O'Donell, a Recollect of the Order of St. Francis, of the Diocese of Waterford, as Superior of the Mission in Newfoundland.

(47)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 54. June 5, 1784. Duplicate of above.

(48)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 55. June 9, 1784. Cardinal Antonelli to Bishop Talbot. Appointment of Rev. John Carroll to be Bishop of the United Provinces of America. (Latin).

The Holy See has decided to supply spiritual help to the thirteen provinces of North America, by a Bishop, or Vicar-Apostolic with Episcopal title. "Sacra haec Congregatio de Propaganda Fide approbante, SS^{mo} DM^{no} Nostro Pio P. P. VI. Superiorem illius Missionis constituit D. Joannem Caroll, virum probatae pietatis, ac studii, eumque facultatibus necessariis, et opportunij, independenter a quolibet alia Ecclesiastica potestate, praeterquam a S. Cong^{ne} communivit." (Endorsed in Bp. Talbot's writing: "About Mr. Caroll's appointment to be Bishop in America").

(49)

(It is possible that (42) should be inserted here, as it is in the Archives—as I believe, wrongly. The date, though very illegible, is evidently "Jan." not "June."

(50)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 63. March 26, 1785. Cardinal Antonelli to Bishop Talbot. Latin. The Faculties for Fr. McEvoy in Sta Cruz are to be extended "ad insulas . . . . Anglorum Dominio subjectas in America."

(51)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 65. May 31, 1785. Autograph letter of Bp. Talbot to Cardinal Antonelli. Reply to above. (Latin).

(52)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 70x. August 22, 1785. Autograph letter of Bp. Talbot to Fr. Felician in Grenada. (Latin).

Now the war is over he hopes that the Jurisdiction in the Islands will be taken from him. "Et quidem rogavi, ut onus illud, quod grave nimis mihi videtur, ab humeris meis amoveretur." Directions on several subjects. Is away on his annual Visitation. Has received no answer to his last.

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(53)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 80. March 27, 1786. Cardinal Antonelli to Fr. McEvoy, Prefect-Apostolic of the Mission in the West Indian Islands, and those "conterminas in America." About renewal of Faculties. (Latin).

(54)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 80. March 27, 1786. Same to same, Vicar-Apostolic of the Islands "in America." Decree of Propaganda, as to "facultatem celebrandi nova officia et Missas Sanctorum, necnon SS^{mi} Sacramenti, et immaculatae Conceptionis," etc.

(55)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 82. March 27, 1786. Decree of Sac. Cong. appointing Fr. Edward Coen, Recollect of Friars Minor, as Missionary Apostolic in the Danish Isles of Sta Cruz, San Thome, and St. John's; "Necnon in Insula S. Eustachii Batavorum coeterisque conterminij in America, sub directione tamen, et Praefectura Dni Christophori MacEvoy."

(56)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 81. Copy of the above.

(57)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 83. April 8, 1786. List of Faculties granted to Fr. C. McEvoy, Vicar-Apostolic of the West Indian Isles, for seven years. Twenty-six Faculties, printed; with several MS. additions; notably (e.g.) no. 25, containing a short Index Expurgatorius, is annotated in fine script: Histoire critique de Jesus, Nouveaux Melangés Philosophiques, Historiques, et critiques, etc.

(58)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 84. April 8, 1786. Letter of directions from Cardinal Antonelli to the Vicar-Apostolic C. McEvoy, then in London. Reminds him that his faculties were "ad septennium." (Latin).

(59)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 85. April 8, 1786. Cardinal Antonelli to Bp. Talbot, about Fr. McEvoy. (Latin.)

(60)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 86. July 12, 1786. Cardinal Antonelli to Bp. Talbot. (Latin.) Reminds him of appointment in June, [?Jan.] 1784, of Fr. O'Donnell to New Found Land in North America. The missionary has given great satisfaction, and now has Faculties which render his Mission independent of the Vicar-Apostolic in London.

(61)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 88. August 2, 1786. Bishop Talbot to Cardinal Antonelli. (Latin.) An account of the London District. At the end there is a reference to the Island of Sta Cruz and others, and to the Newfoundland Mission.

(62)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 100. August 18, 1787. Letter from Cardinal Antonelli to Bp. Talbot. (Latin.) About the Islands. Fr. McEvoy has delayed his return too long, as the Sac. Coll. has learnt. Bishop Talbot is to admonish him.

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(63)

Ibid., Vol. xlii, 108. September 13, 1788. Pamphlet, printed, Philadelphia. "Act of Incorporation." Seven pages.

"*An Act* To incorporate the Members of the Religious Society of Roman Catholics, belonging to the Congregation of St. Mary's Church, in the City of Philadelphia." It has four sections, but is not given in full. "Signed. Thomas Mifflin, Speaker of the Gen. Assembly. Enacted into a law at Philadelphia, on Saturday, the thirteenth day of September, in the year of Our Lord one thousand seven hundred and eighty eight.

PETER ZACHARY LLOYD.
Clerk."

(64)

Ibid., Vol. xliii, 45. March 2, 1791. Letter from Rev. R. Smelt, Rome, to Mr. Horrabin 4, Castle Street, Holborn, London. "I have heard of Mr. Carrol's reception at Baltimore. A German Cistertian from Franconia who speaks English well & has resided in Rome these 7 years past, set out a few days ago for Leghorn to embark for America. In the Colledge of Propaganda Fide there are 2 American students sent by Mr. Carrol 2 years ago. Religion seems to thrive in America, tho' it loses ground in Europe: some time since Mr. Barnard was alarmed by some of our people proposing to go thither; if they could obtain leave from the Propaganda, as soon as this matter was mentioned I was afraid no such permission would be granted." (Extract).

(65)

Ibid., Vol. xliii, 51. March 3, 1791. Autograph letter from Bishop Carroll, Baltimore, to Bishop Douglass, London. (Sealed with large red seal; hat with ten tassels; arms defaced as if purposely, while wax was hot).

"My Lord

After wishing your Lordship a happy and prosperous administration of the district, to the care of which, I am now informed, that you are appointed; I take the liberty of solliciting a favour from you, in the very opening of my correspondence. A young man of your district, named Francis Tulloh, the son of a protestant Clergyman, had become a member of our Church some time before my arrival at London, last summer. Accident made us acquainted; and by a series of events, too tedious to relate to your Lordship, he came to see at London a most respectable French Clergyman, one of the principals of St Sulpice at Paris. In consequence of his interviews with this excellent Ecclesiastic, young Tulloh embraced the resolution and the offer of an education in that seminary, and thinks himself particularly called by God to dedicate himself to the service of my diocese. His director judges his call to come from Heaven, and encourages it: and it is at their joint request, that I presume to petition your Lordship to grant to Francis Tulloh the necessary excorporation from your Diocese, that he may become subject to me and my successors, and receive orders either from or in virtue of Dimissorials granted by me or them. I request the favour of having it sent to Paris, to be delivered to Monsr l'Abbé Nagot, Directeur du Grand Seminaire de St Sulpice, à Paris.

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May I presume to desire your Lordship to give my respectful compliments to the Rev. Gentlemen in Castle Street.

I have the honour to be, with respect and veneration,

My Lord,

Yr Lordship's most obdt & humble St.

+ J. Bishop of Baltimore.

Mr. Tulloh is mentioned by Shea (Vol. ii, p. 379), as one of the original band of seminarians who volunteered to come to Baltimore for the new Seminary, in 1791.

(66)

Ibid., Vol. xlv, 168. July 6, 1793. Letter from Rev. R. Smelt, Rome, to Bishop Douglass.

"Enclos'd you have a renewal of the French Faculties, but nothing further as yet; the Cardinal has ordered the Archivium in the Propaganda to be searched; to see in what manner the French islands in the W. Indies are governed. I believe the Superiors are styl'd *Praefecti Missionis*."

(67)

Ibid., Vol. xlv, 218. October 12, 1793. Same to same. Nothing can be done about the Faculties for San Domingo until the Cardinal's return in November after the holidays, this year much needed, as the heat has been insupportable. It must first be decided to what Power that part of the island is to belong.

(68)

Ibid., Vol. xlv, 48. May 17, 1794. Brief. Cardinal Antonelli to Bishop Douglass. About San Domingo. (Latin).

The Holy Father and Sac. Cong. desire Bp. Douglass to send the best missionaries there, and to signify their names, that they may be inscribed in the Archives of the Sac. Cong. The Marquis de Choiseul, a pious and zealous Catholic, has much property in the island and will protect them. "Vicarius Apostolicus constituatur, in eoque officio presbyter Latill, Vicarius Generalis, Episcopi Vimiensis eligatur . . . . . Idem autem Latill Facultatibus Missionarii Apostolici ab hac sacra congregatione donatus est, ita tamen ut sub dependentia Amplitudinis Tuae sit, ministeriique excercitium a te recipiat."

(69)

Ibid., Vol. xlv, 85. August 20, 1794. Document. (Latin.) Endorsed by Bp. Douglass: "Petition for Faculties for French Bishop intended for San Domingo, wch Faculties were granted to Monsr Osmond, B of Comminges, but Monsigr Erskine through Edmund Burke Esqr. prevented the B going and the Faculties being delivered."

(70)

Ibid., Vol. xlv, 86. August 20, 1794. Letter from the Duke of Portland to the Bishop of Comminges. (French).

Begs him to become Bishop of San Domingo as soon as the necessary formalities prescribed by the Roman Catholic Church can be fulfilled; the King's [George III] intention being to re-establish and to maintain that religion in the Island.

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(71)

Ibid., Vol. xlv, 87. Undated. The Faculties for San Domingo. (Latin. Same hand as text of (69)).

(72)

Ibid., Vol. xlv, 88. August 22, 1794. Letter from the Marquis de Choiseul, at Standen Hall, Clithero, [Lancashire], to Bp. Douglass. (French.) The appointment two months ago of the Vicar-General Latill was owing to his own memorial to Rome, but Latill is apparently unaware of his nomination and is still at Düsseldorf. Will Bp. Douglass send for him to London?

Since the expulsion of the Society of Jesus the Island [San Domingo] is in a terrible state. A French priest is required, and an excellent one has been found.

(73)

Ibid., Vol. xlv, 89. September 16, 1794. Letter from the Abbé Latill at Düsseldorf to Bp. Douglass. (French).

Has only just received a letter from the Marquis de Choiseul, dated August 21, acquainting him with his nomination as Vicar-Apostolic of San Domingo two months ago. Apologises for delay in replying, and humbly and gratefully accepts office.

(74)

Ibid., Vol. xlv, 90. October 2, 1794. Pamphlet, printed. (French.) 4 pp. Port-au-Prince. "Extrait des minutes du Greffe du Conseil-supérieur de Saint Dominique."

(75)

Ibid., Vol. xlv, 101. October 1, 1794. Brief. Cardinal Antonelli to Bp. Douglass. (Latin).

The Holy Father hears with great joy that the King of England will allow a Catholic Bishop in San Domingo, to fight the shameful Gallican schism, which has penetrated to its remotest regions.

(76)

Ibid., Vol. xlvi, 62. July 1, 1795. Letter from the Superior of St Sulpice, R. P. Bourret, London, to M. l'Abbé Dumont in Martinique. (French).

Encloses copy of letter from the Archbishop of Paris, (dated August 30, 1794), giving permission for P. Dumont and another priest to go to Canada, "pour y chercher les fonctions du St Ministère."

Both these priests being of the Diocese of Orleans, but their own Bishop being at present in a state "actuelle et déplorable," P. Bourret has addressed himself, for this permission, to the Metropolitan, now at Constance.

(77)

Ibid., Vol. xlvi, 68. July 18, 1795. Bishop of Quebec, at Quebec, to Bp Douglass. Complimentary letter of thanks. (French). Has seen Mr. Douglass, the Bishop's nephew.

(78)

Ibid., Vol. xlvi, 71. August 9, 1795. Letter from Mr. Thomas Douglass to his uncle, Bishop Douglass. Written from Quebec. (English).

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Arrived safely on July 7. Has been too busy for meals this week, an order having come "to load your wheat vessels to go under convoy for Government." The workmen mind neither master nor man. "The Canadians about here are as stubborn as brutes and so ungrateful that we are oblidged to beg and pray and give them everything they ask for to work." Nevertheless, he "likes the country very well."

(79)

Ibid., Vol. xlvi, 72. August 10, 1795. Letter from Robert Morrogh to Bishop Douglass. Written from Quebec. (English).

Is delighted with Thomas Douglass, who is staying in his uncle's family. The Bishop of Quebec desires to thank Dr. Douglass for promising to forward his letters to Rome. He will take advantage of this offer.

(80)

Ibid., Vol. xlvi, 169. March 20, 1796. Copy of Faculties given by Fr. Archangelus, "Praefectus per interim Missionis Capucinorum in antinsulis Americanis," to "S. Domino Dumont, praesbitero." (Latin).

(81)

Ibid., Vol. xlvi, 200. March 13, 1796. Letter from Fr. Archangelus, at Fort Royal, apparently to English-speaking priest, deploring his own ignorance of English, and accepting proffered help in certain cases.

(82)

Ibid., Vol. xlvi, 263. November, 1796. From the Marquis de Choiseul, "Conseiller du Conseil Superieur de St Dominique," to Bp. Douglass. (French). Long statement about affairs in San Domingo.

(83)

Ibid., Vol. xlvi, 264. November, 1796. Letter from the Apostolic Prefect of Martinique Mission to the brother of the Abbé Dumont. (French). Reassures him as to his brother's health.

(84)

Ibid., Vol. xlvii, 6. January 20, 1797. Letter from Rev. James Loughlin to Bp. Douglass.

Having received a temporary commission from Fr. Archangelus of the West Indian Mission, he had already applied for jurisdiction from London. "Being now in my 20th year from Ireland and knowing but little of the state of England, etc.; I took it for granted that the Immortal Doctr Challoner was an Arch Bishop, and supposing your Lordship to be one of his successors I scarcely doubted of your having the same title." Has been censured. Will send authenticated copy of his recantation.

(85)

Ibid., Vol. xlvii, 97(1). November 10, 1797. Letter from a French Religious, R. P. Trepsac, O. P., at St. Pierre, Martinique, to M. l'Abbé Dumont. (French). Addressed to London, and redirected to Martinique by Bp. Douglass.

(86)

Ibid., Vol. xlvii, 106. December 2, 1797. Faculties granted by Bp. Douglass, Vicar-Apostolic of the London District, to the Rev. Fr. Eustace Louis

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Dumont in London District and West Indian Islands. Preceded by a testimonial from R. P. Bourret, Superior of St. Sulpice.

(87)

Ibid., Vol. xlvii, 175. May 29, 1798. Letter from Bishop Sharrcok, at Bath, to Bishop Douglass. (English).

Informs him of the desire of the wealthy planters of Martinique to found a Catholic College, of which the Superior should be Mons. D'Ancel now at Old Hall Green. (This is endorsed, after a summary: "Mr. Wilks's refusal").

(88 to 95, inclusive.)

Ibid., Vol. xlvii, 197 (The following papers on Martinique are arranged together). March 16, 1798. Act of Rev. Fr. François Augustin. Trepsac, O. P., Superior General of the Dominican Mission, in the French Isles, instituting Fr. Louis Dumont to the parish of La Souffrière, in Ste Lucie. (Endorsed: "ma nomination à la cure, etc., dont j'ai pris possession le 18 Mars, 1798.) (French.)

(89)

Ibid., Vol. xlvii, 198. April 7, 1798. Letter from same to same. (French). Congratulates him on safe arrival at La Souffrière.

(90)

Ibid., Vol. xlvii, 199(1). April 21, 1798. Letter from Fr. Dumont to Bp. Douglass. (English).

(91)

Ibid., Vol. xlvii, 199(2). Easter Sunday, 1798. Letter from French Religious to Fr. Dumont. (French. Very illegible.)

(92)

Ibid., Vol xlvii, 200. May 7, 1798. Letter from R. P. Trepsac to Bp. Douglass, from St. Pierre. Regrets the terrible situation in Europe, especially as regards the Holy Father. Asks counsel as to Dispensations.

(93)

Ibid., Vol. xlvii, 201. May 22, 1798. Letter from R. P. Trepsac, O. P., to R. P. Dumont at La Souffrière. (French. Long.)

(94)

Ibid., Vol. xlvii, 202. July 24, 1798. Same to same. (French).

(95)

Ibid., Vol. xlvii, 205. July 8, 1798. Letter from Rev. Leonard Neale, Pastor of St. Mary's Church, Philadelphia, to Bp. Douglass.

A Londoner named John Quinn who has recently married in this city, gave out that his former wife, "the Widow Burd," was dead; but is utterly unable to bring proofs. The father of his second wife begs that these may be given. He was formerly a worshipper at St. Patrick's, Soho.

The worthy Miss Arnold, who was an example of Christian piety, is just dead of yellow fever.

"Our city, the Lord be praised, is now very healthy. Religion florishes beyond what the complexion of the times would seem to admit." (Endorsed by Bp. Douglass, after a summary: "ansd Oct. 3, 98").

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(96)

Ibid., Vol. xlvii, 210. July 12, 1798. Letter from Fr. D'Ancel, at Follaton Mr. Petre's, Devonshire, to Bp. Douglass. (English).

About the Martinique College plan. He has flatly refused the office of Superior, as the proposal did not come from the Bishop; but holds himself ready in this and all other things to obey him.

(97)

Ibid., Vol. xlvii, 239. October 15, 1798. Autograph letter from Bp. Douglass to R. P. Dumont, La Souffrière. (English).

Congratulates him on being in charge of a parish. "Now you are in the sacred ministry, the great and sublime employ, for which you were ordained Priest."

After the fiery trial of deportation from France, and the Revolution, he has been called by Heaven, and given a distant post. "O may your Islands be preserved from the schism, heresy and immorality of these dreadful times."

His Holiness is still in the Certosa near Florence, very infirm in health. "How much have we to fear when he shall be called from the world. You will pray for the Holy Father: you will pray for the Church: pray also for England, and pray for me."

The *Agents Correspondence* (2 vols.) now contains the copy-book of Monsignor Christopher Stonor who was English agent of the Vicars-Apostolic from 1748 to 1790. This book, formerly in the Southwark Diocesan Archives, contains the *Summary of the State of the Church in the English Colonies of America*, written in Italian and dated 1764. A translation appeared in the *U. S. Catholic Historical Magazine*, Vol. iv (1888), pp. 206–212. The *Catholic Record Society Publications*, now in their twentieth volume, contain valuable manuscripts and letters from private and family archives in England; many of these volumes are indispensable for American Catholic history and supplement to a great extent the materials in the Westminster Diocesan Archives.

PETER GUILDAY.

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BOOK REVIEWS

The Frontier States. By Theodore Calvin Pease. The Illinois Centennial Commission, Springfield, 1918.

The "monumentum aere perennius" of the first centenary of Illinois statehood is to be a five-volume history of this great western commonwealth which, in a brief span of time, has outdistanced most of the original colonies. It is a new and happy departure in the way of celebrations, and while during the centennial year the usual speeches and pageantries were not overlooked, their value is transient in comparison with the permanent record of success through failure embodied in these volumes. For future generations they will prove a rich mine of valuable information. The first volume in the series, by Professor Buck, gave a general account of Illinois and its people at the time of their admission to statehood. The present volume carries the history forward from 1818 to 1848. During that formative period of thirty years Illinois was indeed the "frontier state." Pioneers passed over its territory in waves with varying manners, ideals and habits of life. The half-breed and the college-bred lawyer, the woman of the backwoods and the fine lady rubbed elbows in the little village where the frame house was rapidly replacing the log cabin. All were equally eager to possess their share of the vast stretches of diversified hill and plain, forest and prairie that lay so invitingly to hand. And all had to wage a continual political fight to obtain from their landlord, the Federal Government, the lowest possible terms for the acquisition of the coveted treasure; in 1820 Illinois land was sold at one dollar and twenty five cents per acre.

But it is the settlers themselves who interest us most. For they not only made the land what it is; they also fashioned and shaped the habits and hopes, the ideals and aspirations of the generations that followed; we of today are the heirs of their accumulated material and spiritual wealth. In the Illinois frontiersman there was none of the self-conscious, awkward rusticity of the European peasant. As one to the manner born and bred on the doctrines of liberty and equality, the conviction of his own dignity was apparent in the bearing and conversation

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of every inhabitant. Money could not buy any obsequiousness on his part. But if he were appealed to as a man for help and sympathy, he usually responded in liberal measure. Intensely patriotic and inordinately fond of politics, where he found ample scope for the exercise of his most cherished rights and privileges, he believed with uncommon ardor in the destiny of the American nation as the world's standard-bearer of republican principles. Doubts and fears concerning the baneful influence of the foreigner on America's future were far removed from his mind; he could see no danger ahead as long as free and firm adherence to the fundamental tenets of democracy rapidly transmuted every new arrival into a staunch and true American. Such at least was the general attitude about 1820. Some years later a decided change set in.

If it is true that people are known by the papers they read and that publishers supply what the readers demand, then the general average of culture in early Illinois was fairly high and of a decidedly different stamp from that of today. Editors thought it their duty to keep from their readers anything that might be considered contrary to good manners and morals. On occasion they even rebuked as mere idle curiosity the desire for the details of murders and steamboat explosions; divorces were practically unknown. The paper's main function was to furnish a medium of polite communications from the editor to his patrons. Such foreign news as could be clipped from papers nearer the center of the great world; accounts of the proceedings of Congress and of the state general assembly; occasional speeches, political articles and forecasts, and oftentimes lengthy communications from readers on some theme of local or general interest, made up the bulk of the reading matter.

Public schools and free education were unknown. Such systematic instruction as the state afforded was supplied by private schools, and for a price. These private schools were connected with some religious denomination and pervaded by its teachings. Father Desmoulin had a school in Kaskaskia, where he taught Latin and French. Yet the frontiersman was quite often unreligious. Both from Catholic and from non-Catholic sources there is ample evidence to prove that there was a serious widespread disregard of religious observances. If deistic and

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atheistic beliefs flourished even among the better classes, there was also a compensating advantage. "A man of good character," thus wrote an eyewitness, "is an acquisition; not that there is a small proportion of such men, but because the bad are as undisguisedly bad as their opposites are professedly good. This is not the land of hypocrisy. It would not here have its reward. Religion is not the road to worldly respectability, nor a possession of it the cloak of immorality."

The political institutions of early days were, of course, little different from those of the present time. However, the first Illinois Constitution grafted a unique and very curious body on the legislative department—the council of revision. It was composed of the governor and the justices of the Supreme Court. Its duty was to examine all laws passed by the house and senate, and to return such as it disapproved, which last could be passed over its veto by a majority of the members in each house. In practice the institution prevented useless legislation by calling to the attention of the legislators technical defects in laws passed. It also acted as a check on the extravagant expenditure of public money to no purpose. Thus in 1827 it protested that "vast sums from the public treasury have been thrown away on commissioners to view and mark out roads which have never been and never will be opened"!

The early criminal codes of Illinois serve as an index to an attitude of mind that was a stranger to maudlin sentimentality where evil-doers were concerned. By the criminal act of 1819 four offenses were punishable by death. From this list the code of 1827 subtracted assault and arson, unless a life were lost in the fire, while adding two corollary offenses. As to punishment by whipping, this same code, while applying it to nine offenses, including crimes of violence, forgery, counterfeiting, and altering marks and brands, cut down the number of lashes. In certain cases the code of 1819 prescribed 500 lashes, but the later code in no case exceeded 100. To the honor of Illinois be it said that in 1819 and 1827 acts were passed against dueling, the first of them limiting the death penalty to the principals, and the second making participatitn in a fatal duel murder.

Perhaps few commonwealths in the nascent republic paid so dearly for their indomitable progressive spirit as did Illinois.

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Its early builders understood fully that easy and rapid means of communication with the world beyond their borders meant everything to the State. On all sides there was a clamor for the building of roads, railways and canals. But when it came to realize all these ambitious projects, and especially to providing the means, the State and its bondholders got quickly entangled in a mesh of financial difficulties and failures which it took years to unravel. Nothing daunted, the energetic pioneers set to work again, and deserved success attended their efforts in the end.

Interwoven in the web of these manifold activities were the struggles with the vanishing Indian aborigines, with the growing and threatening Mormon settlement in Nauvoo, and especially with the pro-slavery element. Certain ideals lay close to the heart of even the backwoodsman; they were never lost sight of, and the consciousness of their distant realization seemed only to intensify the zeal with which they were defended and to infuse new life into their protagonists after every failure. The oft-told story of Elijah Parish Lovejoy and his untimely end at Alton is but one instance among many.

Intimately bound up with the progress of Illinois are the rise and rapid growth of Chicago. During the period with which this volume deals, it was fast becoming the great emporium of the whole western country, although then even the most optimistic would not have dared to foretell its present size and importance. As a central and easily accessible point for imports and exports it had not and could not have a rival—its geographical situation was absolutely decisive. The rich farming belt surrounding it made it the supreme market for grain and all other produce, where profiteering, even in those early days, seems to have been practiced on a large scale. And when prices were artificially forced downward, "many would hold up their commodity a whole year, expecting a rise in the market. . . . I have known whole stacks of wheat and whole fields of corn to rot, or to be dribbled out and wasted to no purpose and whole droves of hogs to run wild in the woods so as never to be reclaimed whilst the owner was saving them for a higher price."

Although the great emancipator and savior of the union stood not as yet revealed in all his might, Illinois at this time

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was beginning to feel the influence of his personality and the power of his word, as well as the nation at large. Especially was this the case during the Mexican war. Illinois had rallied enthusiastically to the call for soldiers, and, raw recruits as they were, they had markedly distinguished themselves, particularly at the battle of Buena Vista. Yet, Lincoln had consistently opposed the war from the first, and stigmatized it as one of "rapine and murder, robbery and dishonor." He felt that Illinois had sent her men to Mexico "to record their infamy and shame in the blood of poor, innocent, unoffending people, whose only crime was weakness." In a speech before the house, January 12, 1848, he declared that President Polk "is deeply conscious of being in the wrong; that he feels the blood of this war, like the blood of Abel, is crying to heaven against him; that originally having some strong motive . . . to involve the two countries in a war, and trusting to escape scrutiny by fixing the public gaze upon the exceeding brightness of military glory—that attractive rainbow that raises in showers of blood, that serpent's eye that charms to destroy—he plunged into it, and was swept on and on till, disappointed in his calculation of the ease with which Mexico might be subdued, he now finds himself he knows not where!" His uncompromising attitude was deeply resented by his opponents, but his patriotism was never questioned. However stirring the record of past events, especially when viewed in the light of present achievements, the Catholic historian always feels particular concern in the part his co-religionists took in them. Catholic history can be sympathetically understood and written only by Catholics, and Illinois has much to do in this regard. In a book like the present one does not expect and does not look for a detailed treatment of Catholic men and their contributions to the common fund of civilization. Yet justice demands that they be not passed over in absolute silence. In a review of the first volume of this series (*Cath. Hist. Review*, Vol. iv, No. 1), attention was called to this point, and the present work gives due credit to Catholics for their share in the development of a state which owes its very existence largely to Christian endeavor.

The French-Canadian Catholics, as the first white settlers, had prepared the way for the advance of the white race on Illi-

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nois soil. Untoward circumstances had forced them to emigrate in large numbers across the Mississippi. Yet the school of Father Desmoulin, of which mention has already been made, was kept alive. Besides, in 1833 the convent of the Sisters of the Visitation was established in connection with the Menard Academy at Kaskaskia, and three years later it opened a commodious building to pupils. By 1842 eighteen Sisters had the care of seventy pupils, twelve of whom were orphans, taught free of charge. Tuition for the curriculum of literature, music and arithmetic was one hundred and twenty-five dollars a year, and twenty-five dollars for day students. In 1844 the school building was practically destroyed by the Mississippi flood, and this academy was moved to St. Louis. But Catholic day schools were maintained at Cahokia, La Salle and other places in the State.

With the advent, between 1830 and 1850, of a large number of Irish immigrants, nativism began its political machinations. Among the Whigs there was always a strong current of native American sentiment, which the Democrats, intent on securing the foreign vote, were not slow to bring it to the surface. In most instances where it appeared overtly in Illinois, this sentiment was expressed in the question as to whether newly arrived immigrants to the United States should be permitted to vote. At least one Illinois paper in 1838 openly denounced the practice of allowing the "Irish of the canal zone" who had been six months in Illinois, to vote, whether they had been naturalized or not. From the fact that even the naturalized Irish immigrants should be deprived of the vote, it was apparent that, besides patriotism, an unavowed motive was animating nativists in their campaign. At that time the Irish vote in Cook County was said to be one-half of the total. When the Whigs, who were emphatically Protestant, were accused, in connection with nativist attacks, of being anti-Catholic, the charge was more than a political maneuver. It was not so much "a certain aggressive loyalty to all things Irish" as to all things "Catholic" that "drew a sharp line of antagonism between the Irish and their Anglo-Saxon neighbors." And be it said in passing that "the canal zone Irish" laid the foundation of more than one now prosperous and populous Catholic settlement in the nascent cities and the surrounding farming territory.

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Mention is also made of "The London Roman Catholic Emigration Society," which "hastened to complete preparations whereby various parties, each with its clergyman at its head, might find new homes in America." How many Catholics responded to this call, or what became of their Illinois settlements, does not appear. In 1850 there were 28,000 Irish in Illinois and 18,600 English settlers. With regard to the latter it is on record that "their minds were hampered with prejudices in favor of the customs and habits of the mother country, which, combined with the lack of those qualities that make good pioneers, kept the English from being classed with the successful settlers of the new country."

There were also a number of Catholics among the German immigrants to Illinois. Strangely enough, the vanguard and leaders of this Teutonic contingent became known as the "Latin farmers," for they knew more of Latin than of land. They brought to Illinois an element of culture and education that was in the long run to affect the life of the community. From the first they made no effort to isolate themselves from that life; though they furnished themselves with new and better homes, flowers and fruit trees, books and music, they at the same time adapted themselves to the simple, social standards of the people about them, and thereby gradually elevated the ideals of western life. Their influence was felt in farming, in commerce, in journalism, science, art and government; and in religion also, for the Catholic portion of them strove hard and successfully against many odds to build up with scanty means their churches and schools. They also became the butt of native-American antagonism.

During the period under consideration the largest number of Catholics in Illinois was drawn from those four countries: Canada, Ireland, Germany, England. The immigration from other countries, especially from Scandinavian lands, was overwhelmingly and uncompromisingly Protestant.

In his last chapter, "Social Advance," the author reviews in a comprehensive manner the progress made in Illinois by various sects and also by Catholicity. In 1826 there were, according to Bishop Rosati's report, 20 missions, mostly French, in southern Illinois. Their needs were supplied by missionaries sent out

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from St. Louis. But beginning slowly in the thirties, and increasing rapidly in the forties, came that tide of Catholic immigrants, predominantly Irish and German, who, settling in great numbers in the northern section of the country, shifted ecclesiastical emphasis to the north and made Catholicism an important factor in state development. In 1833 these northern Catholics obtained their first resident pastor in the person of Father Irenaeus Mary St. Cyr. Chicago, where he resided, was incorporated the same year, the Catholics then numbering 130, or 90 per cent of the population. From that year dates the rapid growth of Catholicity in the city by the lake.

Professor Pease's thorough and impartial treatment of his theme deserves many imitators. While complying with scientific requirements in referring constantly to original sources, his work is by no means overburdened with notes and is in no wise pedantic. It is well calculated to satisfy both the ordinary reader and the more inquisitive historian.

J. B. CULEMANS, PH.D.

National Progress, 1907–1917. By Frederic Austin Ogg, Professor of Political Science, University of Wisconsin. New York and London: Harper & Brothers, 1918. Pp. xxii+419.

Professor Ogg's book is the 27th and concluding volume in the series published from original sources under the editorship of Albert Bushnell Hart, entitled *The American Nation, A History*. The purpose of the present volume is to afford the student of history an opportunity to view, in a single compact volume, the various events, issues, and tendencies which have made the decade from 1907, to the Declaration of War in 1917, one of the most interesting as well as one of the most eventful since the Civil War in the development of the United States as a nation. As the editor of the series points out in the Introduction, it is always a difficult task to write a critical and balanced narrative of recent events. For one thing a proper perspective is lacking and our judgment is apt to be influenced by personal factors. Some time must pass before one can profitably indulge in a calm analysis of events and appreciate their full significance and casual relationship. While a study of this kind therefore

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can lay no claim to finality, it is yet undoubtedly useful, for it contains the sources from which the historian of the future must draw his premises. It is useful, too, in that it furnishes a key to the understanding of contemporaneous events, since it stresses the connections between events, uniting them in the broad general tendencies and movements of which they are parts. For these purposes Professor Ogg's book will be found very valuable. Attractive in style, calm and detached in treatment, it sketches the chief events of the decade with clearness and commendable accuracy of detail.

The first part of the book is taken up with an account of the problems of internal or domestic policy which arose during the ten years. In his treatment of these questions, however, the author does not always confine himself to the dates prefixed, but goes beyond them, as is proper, when it is necessary to show their historical development and trace their causes.

Looking back over that period and recalling to mind the many vexed questions, difficult problems and bitter discussions to which it gave rise, one has little difficulty in accepting the author's estimate of the decade as one of great national restlessness and reaction against the old order in business, politics, and government. The United States had just passed through an era of wonderful industrial expansion and great material prosperity. Huge trusts and industrial combinations had arisen and frenzied finance had run rampant. Big Business had entered the field of politics and in the popular mind appeared to dictate and control the processes of government. Legislation seemed to be dictated largely by conservative and standpat principles rather than by principles of true progress. In consequence there arose a strong popular reaction and protest which began to gather force and crystallize under Roosevelt and though it lagged somewhat under the administration of Taft, under the leadership of Wilson it acquired new strength. In the chapters on "Railroad Regulation," "Corporations and Trusts," "The Democrats in Power," the author shows how in obedience to the popular demand business was divorced from politics, the death-knell of lobbyism was sounded and measures taken to insure the triumph of the people. The growth of the movement for a more direct and effective participation of the citizens at large in the organization of gov-

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ernment, as reflected in the popular election of United States Senators and the extension of the direct primary, initiative, referendum and recall, is interestingly described in the chapter on "Democracy and Responsibility in Government," while the effects of this tendency on party organization and the growth of the Progressive Party are developed at some length in the chapter on "Political Unrest and Party Disintegration."

The achievements of the decade in the solution of the problems of the tariff, immigration, conservation and reclamation are admirably set forth in appropriate chapters. One of the most constructive measures of the period, the reformation of our banking and currency system by the creation of the Federal Reserve Banks, receives extensive treatment. Foremost among the noteworthy accomplishments of the epoch must be mentioned its labor legislation. The far-reaching social effect of the definite recognition in the Clayton Act of the principle that the status of human labor is distinct from that of commodities and articles of commerce would in itself have justified for the administration of Wilson a place in history, but the victory of labor was not limited to this recognition. For one thing the long agitated problem of injunctions in labor disputes was settled favorably to labor, and the importance of labor was recognized by the creation of a distinct Department of Labor in the Cabinet. Moreover, more adequate machinery was provided for mediation and arbitration, and the mutual interests of employers and employees in the prevention of strikes and lockouts were more clearly brought into light. In addition the cause of social legislation was greatly advanced by the wider popularity given to "Employer's Liability" and "Workman's Compensation Acts" and the principle of the eight-hour day; also by the establishment of the Children's Bureau and by the attempts made to limit and safeguard, in the interests of humanity, the labor of children and the growth of the movement for social insurance. In the chapter on "Industry and Labor" the author refers to all these questions though, perhaps, not quite so fully as their importance would seem to warrant under existing conditions. One is disappointed, however, to find no reference in this work to the Commission on Industrial Relations appointed by President Wilson of which Frank Walsh was the chairman.

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No matter how we may differ in judgment on the merits of the Report of this Commission, it must be admitted that it did much to focus general attention on the living conditions of workers prevailing throughout the country and to create sentiment in favor of minimum wage legislation and more adequate protection of the worker against the hazards of industry. It would thus seem to merit some mention in the historical development of the nation's attitude toward labor.

In the latter half of his work Professor Ogg gives an excellent account of the development of the colonial policy and the foreign relations of the United States. The progress of government in the Philippines and Porto Rico; the problems met, the difficulties encountered, and the gradual extension of the principles of self-government to these dependencies, and the success achieved by the United States as a colonizing nation are all briefly outlined. The special problems of Alaska and the policies adopted by the national government to conserve and develop its rich resources also receive mention. Intervention in Cuba and the extension of the supervision and control of the United States, either direct or indirect, in Panama, Haiti, Santo Domingo and Nicaragua form the theme of a special chapter on the "Guardianship of the Caribbean," in which the author traces the formation of the policy which has guided the United States in its relations to these smaller nations. The Mexican imbroglio and the attempts of the American Government to settle the problems it presented, as might be expected, are set forth at some length. After reviewing the history of events and the efforts of President Wilson to find a solution of the troublesome difficulty, the writer expresses his judgment in the conclusion, "From its part in the tragic chapter the United States drew small satisfaction and scant credit. It incurred the suspicion or avowed enmity of all the Mexican factions. It sifted politics, and acted with no apparent po'icy, to the amazement of Americans and foreigners alike" (p. 303).

In a special chapter the author discusses our relations to China and Japan and the policy of the United States on the question of Japanese immigration. The history of the difficulties which arose over the question of the Panama Canal, its fortifications and the charging of tolls is likewise given. as is the

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history of our relations with the countries of South America. The concluding chapters deal with our difficulties as a neutral in the Great War, our war-time policies and our final entrance into the war on the side of the Allies. The wealth of material used by the author in the compilation of his work is revealed by the numerous references with which it abounds. The final chapter contains an excellent critical essay on authorities, in which are noted the books and official material which have a bearing on the history of the past decade. This chapter enhances greatly the value of the work for those who are interested in contemporaneous history and the present trend of our national progress.

JOSEPH A. HICKEY, O.S.A., D.D.

The Discovery of America (The Cambridge Travel Books), 1492–1584. Edited by Philip F. Alexander, M.A. Cambridge: The University Press, 1917.

The present series of travel books was projected in the spring of 1915, the object being to provide schools with a set of volumes containing original accounts of famous or interesting voyages to be read in connection with studies in history and geography. The value of such an undertaking is fairly obvious. Students of high school rank need outside reading of this sort as a complement to their ordinary class work and a stimulus to further study. And while entirely new narratives, based on sound method and possessing sufficient literary merit might go far toward satisfying such a need, nothing could more excite the interest of young persons than accounts from the pens of the great voyagers themselves. And the difficulties of such an undertaking are not so great as may at first sight appear. For, thanks to agencies like the Hakluyt Society, many such narratives are already accessible in print, while others are not so very hard to come by. And a little judicious modernizing of the spelling and some pruning here and there would suffice to render the texts intelligible and attractive. In this way a high school boy or girl would be brought into contact at an early age with the sources of historical truth and thereby accustomed to a sound method of investigation, with but slightly (if any) greater effort than is now expended on second-hand and often misleading accounts.

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Such would seem to be the principles underlying the present series; and to this method it is hard to see how objection can be taken, correct as it is in theory and successful where it has already been put into practice. Everything hinges on the selection and editing of the documents and on such accidental considerations as size, binding, pictures, maps, etc. The present volume is quite small, containing slightly over two hundred pages. This is of course an advantage in a work of this class since being a "school book" it will have to be carried about a great deal. But it leaves little room for text and considering the period embraced (1492–1584) the selections are but a meagre sample of what was put forth in an age that was preëminently one of discovery and exploration. First we have the narratives of the first three voyages of Columbus, then Cartier's voyage to Canada in 1535, then that of Sir Humphrey Gilbert to Virginia in 1583, and lastly the voyage of Amadas and Barlow in 1584. From this it will be seen that only a modicum of the available material has been drawn upon and, moreover, what is presented relates in great measure to *North* America, though the title-page gives no indication of so restricted a use of the word. This latter point is not a piece of hyper-criticism, for every student of Spanish-American history will recall instances of inconvenience (not to employ a stronger term) resulting from the arrogation by one portion of the Western Continent of a designation more correctly applied to the whole, though an English writer may be pardoned an inaccuracy that has the seeming sanction of our own State Department, which refers to United States Embassies and Legations as "American." As to the somewhat small amount of matter, the Editor does not profess to give anything like a complete collection but (to quote the preface) "to illustrate the history of geographical discovery by means of select voyages and travels," so he is to be judged by the aim he has proposed to himself rather than by that which others might wish to impose upon him. And by that standard he is well entitled to the gratitude of teachers. Not only is the selection judicious but the editing is particularly happy. There is enough modernizing to make the texts intelligible and attractive without destroying their flavor. The pictures and some of the maps are from old books; and what such things lack in scientific

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accuracy is more than compensated for by the aid they supply in developing the historical imagination of the young. A table of important dates in the history of discovery, from the expedition of Alexander the Great to India in 327 B. C., to the South Polar voyage of Scott in 1912, is prefixed, and at the end is a set of short but useful notes, including a glossary. If this volume be a promise of what its successors will be, the series ought to command the approval not only of those for whom it is directly intended but of more advanced students as well, for, after all, no one can ever become so "advanced" as to get beyond the use of works of this sort.

EDWIN A. RYAN, D.D.

The Political Works of James I, Reprinted from the edition of 1616 With an Introduction by Charles Howard McIlwain, Professor of History and Government in Harvard University. Harvard University Press, 1918. Pp. xvi+354.

This beautifully bound folio volume is the first of a series to be known as the *Harvard Political Classics*. Should the high standards of form and content exhibited by this first volume be maintained in subsequent issues, the student of politics and of political history, especially in the United States, will be placed under deep obligation to the editors. The considerations which have led up to the undertaking are stated in the Preface to the present volume:

> The needs of a thorough student of history can never be adequately met by mere fragments torn out of the classical writings of the past, useful though such fragments may be. For the student needs to know not alone *what* the masters thought, but also *how* they thought; and this he can never learn solely from modern histories, or even from detached bits of contemporary writings without the nexus of continuous argument by which the writers originally wove these *disjecta membra* into one whole.

The present reviewer is frank to state that his perusal of the volume before him has been a gratifying proof of the truth of the words just quoted. One gathers a much more comprehensive and concrete notion of the practical motives and considerations that impelled James I to become the extreme defender he was of absolutism and of the divine right of kings, when one reads his speeches, letters and other writings in their entirety. The con-

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troversy between the King and Bellarmine is thereby placed in a much more intelligible and illuminative setting.

The long Introduction contributed by Professor McIlwain is justified by the method which he adopted with regard to the printing of the text. Instead of appending to the text of James' writings a great mass of notes and variant readings, the Editor decided to write an historical commentary and explanation which, as he modestly tells us, "the reader might read or not as he pleased."

Professor McIlwain first makes a brief review of the *Rise and Growth of the Anglican Schism*. He calls attention to the influence of politics and religion upon each other in the strife of the sixteenth century, to the effect upon Calvinists as well as upon Catholics of the claim of Henry the Eighth that he was head of the Church as well as of the State, and to the Catholic doctrine of the mutual independence of the spiritual and temporal powers, with the former superior in case of actual conflict. Cardinal Bellarmine and others taught that the authority of the monarch came to him through the consent of the people; therefore, that the monarch not only had no jurisdiction in spiritual things but that the source of his power was inferior to that of the Pope, which was conferred directly by God. Furthermore, these writers maintained that the Pope through his indirect power over civil affairs could, for spiritual ends and with the consent of the people, depose a recalcitrant monarch and set up another in his place. Professor McIlwain declares that this element of the indirect power of the Papacy, this deposing power, was defended by Bellarmine because it was necessary for the defense of the supremacy of the Papal authority in case of conflict with a monarch. This is rather too strongly put. Even today the Church rightfully claims that the laws of religion and of morality are supreme, but no Pope has in recent centuries made use of, or attempted to use, the deposing power. In Bellarmine's day it was regarded as a normal prerogative of the Pope by practically all Catholics. Professor McIlwain is of the opinion that "opposition to the Pope's indirect power made the theory of the divine right of kings the gospel of practically all English Protestants in this age." Certain it is that James made very large use of the popular prejudice against this power in his various writings in defense of his own divine right.

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The unfortunate differences between the two groups of the English Catholic clergy concerning the deposing power and the Oath of Allegiance imposed by James, are briefly and, on the whole, fairly reviewed by the Editor. The Oath, he says, was "England's answer to the Jesuit challenge contained in Bellarmine's theory of the Pope's indirect power." Nevertheless, the Oath could have required Catholics to reject the deposing power (as many of them did reject it) without compelling them to denounce it as "impious, heretical and damnable." Professor McIlwain calls attention to the inconsistency of King James in maintaining that the Oath was "meerely Civill," and yet, by means of these objectionable words, "setting himself up to adjudge as heretical a doctrine believed by the majority of Catholics. Could James expect the Pope to regard the line of division between the secular and the spiritual, when he so ignores it himself?" The truth is, as Professor McIlwain intimates, that James wished to be supreme in ecclesiastical as well as in civil matters, and that .e regarded the Oath as an excellent means to this end because it was calculated to divide the Catholics and therefore to weaken them. The trick was successful; for, in the words of Lingard, "the Oath effectually broke the power of the Catholic body in England, by dividing them into two parties, marshalled against each other."

The works of James, published in this volume, are: *Basilicon Doron; The Trew Law of Free Monarchies; An Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance; A Premonition to All Christian Monarchs; Free Princes and States; A Defense of the Right of Kings Against Cardinall Perron;* and five speeches, delivered between 1603 and 1616. The first of these was written to Prince Henry, his son, and sets forth in some fifty-three pages folio the duties of a king. The second treatise is devoted entirely to a defense of the proposition that the monarch receives his authority directly from God and may never be lawfully deposed. James uses three arguments: the first is from the Scriptures, the second, from the fundamental laws of the kingdom of England, and the third, from what he calls the law of nature. The Scriptural argument is based upon the words of Samuel to the people of Israel describing the authority of the king whom God would appoint to reign over them (1 Kings viii, 9-22). This, said James, is a

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"paterne to all Christian and well-founded Monarchies." In other words, every king is directly appointed by God, as was Saul, and has the same unrestricted power. James bases his second argument on the contention that the first king of England (King Fergus from Ireland) overcame the barbarous inhabitants of England, and made himself their ruler and lawgiver in such fashion that he and his successors were ever afterward recognized as being absolute and above the law. Obviously all this is mere assertion. No such claim had been generally recognized by Englishmen for centuries before the days of James. His argument from the natural law consists of two similitudes: since the king is commonly compared to a father, he must have the same absolute authority over his people that a father has over his children; and, since the king is the head of his people, he must exercise the same control over them as the natural head does over the members of the body. To the objection that it is sometimes lawful for the people to overthrow a wicked and tyrannical king, he replies that the evil consequences of such action are much more grievous to the commonwealth than any amount of royal oppression. The wicked king should be left for punishment to God.

If a beginner in an elementary class of ethics or political science were to make such an argument seriously today he would be transferred to a school for backward children.

The *Apologie for the Oath of Allegiance* was written in reply to the Briefs which Pope Pius V sent to the English Catholics, forbidding them to take the Oath, and to a letter of Cardinal Bellarmine. It contains many references to the Scriptures and to the Fathers, but is fundamentally dishonest because it contends that the Oath is in no way contrary to the religious convictions of Catholics.

The Premonition was addressed to all the monarchs of Christendom, and is a pedantic and tiresome defense of the Oath, with a denunciation of the Pope and the Catholic Church. It was written as a preface to the second edition of the *Apologie*, which had been issued as a rejoinder to Bellarmine's reply to the first edition.

A Defence of the Right of Kings was a reply to an oration of Cardinal du Perron, pronounced at a meeting of the Estates

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General of France in 1615. It is much the longest document in the collection, consisting, with the Preface, of exactly one hundred folio pages. The oration which it attempted to refute was the most powerful of the many statements that had been made of the Catholic position. The *Defence* uses the same arguments as the *Apologie*, but with much greater particularity, and deals in detail with the arguments of Cardinal du Perron. It displays considerable cleverness, as in the protest that the deposing power of the Pope, if allowed, might compel a son, established by the Pope in the place of his deposed heretical father, to put the latter to death.

The five speeches which form the last section of the volume are on various political and politico-ecclesiastical subjects, and are much less interesting today than the preceding productions; but the *Apologie* and the *Defence* are still of great importance to all students of those two fundamentally important subjects—the divine right of kings and the deposing power of the Papacy.

J. A. RYAN, D.D.

The Life of Abraham Lincoln. Drawn from original sources and containing many speeches and telegrams hitherto unpublished, and illustrated with many reproductions from original paintings photographs, et cetera. New Edition with New Matter. By Ida M. Tarbell. New York: The Macmillan Company, MCMXVII. Vol. i, xxxvi, +426 pp. Vol. ii, 475 pp. Price, $5 a set.

In 1894 the editors of *McClure's Magazine* conceived the happy thought of making their monthly go about our country, into cities, villages and farms, and, like a modern Ruth, collect into one treasury the things overlooked even after many a gleaning of Lincolniana. Reminiscences, pictures, documents—many sheaves of these came to the "Lincoln Bureau" that had been established in the offices of the monthly. "To facilitate the work," says Miss Tarbell, "all persons possessing or knowing of Lincoln material were asked through the Magazine to communicate with the editor. The response was immediate and amazing. Hundreds of persons from all parts of the country replied. In every case the clews thus obtained were investigated and if the matter was found to be new and useful [it] was secured. . . . The work thus became one in which the whole country cooperated."

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The unpublished material thus obtained made it possible to have a series of articles on the life of Lincoln up to the year 1858 and, while throwing new light upon obscure portions of the story of Lincoln's earlier years, to correct some traditional errors and misapprehensions. Documentary evidence was unearthed establishing "clearly that his mother was not the nameless girl that she has been believed." So, too, his father "is shown to have been something more than a shiftless 'poor white,' and Lincoln's early life, if hard and crude, to have been full of honest, cheerful effort at betterment. . . . The sensational account of his running away from his own wedding, accepted generally by historians, is shown to be false." The author thinks that the most important contribution she has been enabled to make to the period of the Lincoln and Douglas Debates is the report of what is known as the "Lost Speech," which preceded the Debates by a year, it is true, but which illustrates how capable was Lincoln of grappling forensically with "the Little Giant." The reasons why the speech was "lost" and the happy occurrences that permitted it to be substantially regained and to appear, for the first time in print, in *McClure's Magazine* for September, 1896, are set forth (Vol. i, 292–299). A second series of articles completed the life, and both series, with much supplementary matter, were included in the volume-form in which the life was later issued.

The present edition is a new one, with new matter, and its price indicates the intention on the part of the publishers to make it a popular edition: "In the 17 years since the first edition of this book appeared," says the preface to the new edition, "a continuous stream of new material relating more or less directly to Abraham Lincoln has been flowing to the public," such as the *Diary of Gideon Welles*, the *Reminiscences of Carl Schurz* and the eight volumes of his public speeches, correspondence and political papers, etc., while "the collections of Lincolniana have increased not merely in size but in intelligent arrangement and selection." A new edition was clearly desirable, and the enterprise of the publishers in making its price a popular one deserves commendation. But while the indefatigable labor of the author enabled her to unearth much unpublished matter in the first instance, and later on to condense the materials furnished by other

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writers since the year 1900, the method of a magazine-serial and the peculiar character of the portrait-illustrations which used to be a prominent feature of *McClure's Magazine* (the "living documents" idea) combine to give anything but a symmetrically rounded appearance to the life. The emphasis is unduly laid on the early portion of Lincoln's career, not because a proper sense of proportion should demand great emphasis there, but merely because the new material at hand was so abundant, or because previous accounts of Lincoln's life erred either by omission or by misstatement. And so we find the closely crowded and inestimably important years of his life as President taking only 262 pages (including 18 pages devoted to his funeral) for their story, while 278 pages are devoted to his life down to the year 1854—the year when he became really an interesting figure in the general history of his country. True it is that the child is father of the man, and that the unique figure of Lincoln, well-styled by James Russell Lowell "the first American," deserves to have everything we can find about his early career recorded and carefully related to his after years of public service. But the porch should not dwarf the house. Again, an Appendix to the second volume allots nearly 200 pages to a collection of his letters, telegrams and speeches, although these are not a selection intended to illustrate statements in the text (after the fashion of the *pièces justificatives* of French historians), but merely represent matter which was not included in the "Complete Works" of Lincoln edited by Nicolay and Hay or in any other collection of his writings. They do not belong to a "Life" of compass so narrow as to necessitate the exclusion of many things which an ordinary, non-scientific student of history would like to have included to make the background of Lincoln's great figure throw it into greater relief. They should rather be issued as a supplement to Nicolay and Hay's collection. We fancy that he alone who could zealously peruse such a collection would find it possible to "go through" such consecutive and fragmentary telegrams as the following (Appendix, p. 363):

War Department,
Washington City, April 23, 1863.

Hon. Simon Cameron, Harrisburg, Pa.:

Telegraph me the name of your candidate for West Point.

A. LINCOLN.

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War Department,
Washington City, April 23, 1863.

Hon. S. P. Chase, Philadelphia, Pa.:
Telegraph me the name of your candidate for West Point.
A. LINCOLN.

One might argue in defense of such inclusions as these, that they exhibit the attention to detail given by the President in the midst of heartrending public duties, and illustrate, in brief, how much telegraphing he must have indulged in, as both telegrams are of even date. The contention may be correct; but the collocation or context would rather serve to illustrate just the reverse, since the two telegrams are immediately preceded by one dated April 11, 1863 (no less than twelve days earlier), and are immediately followed by one dated April 29, 1863 (six days later). Did he send only four telegrams between April 11 and April 29? Similarly, the reader would perhaps be encouraged to hunt up (vainly, nevertheless) in the text of the life the stirring events that led Lincoln to dispatch these three consecutive telegrams on August 30, 1862:

War Department,
Washington, D. C., August 30, 1862—10.20 a.m.
Colonel Haupt, Alexandria, Va.:
What news? A. LINCOLN.

War Department,
August 30, 1862—3.50 p.m.
Colonel Haupt, Alexandria, Va.:
Please send me the latest news. A. LINCOLN.

August 30, 1862—8.35 p.m.
Major-General Banks, Manassas Junction, Va.:
Please tell me what news. A. LINCOLN.

Our appetite is naturally whetted by these frequent demands for news. But the next telegram is dated September 17 and is addressed to Governor Morton, Indianapolis.

In the two volumes there are fifty-five illustrations, many of them "living documents" of Lincoln, portraits taken after he had grown to the full estate of manhood (the earliest representing him at the age of thirty-nine years), and therefore not quite illustrative of the chronological growth from babyhood to mature manhood in a series of portraits so dear to *McClure's Magazine* of the old days. Then we have his portrait taken in 1858, when he was

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forty-nine years old; in 1860, at the time of the Cooper Institute speech; then in the summer of 1860; another of 1860, and also a life-mask of that year; then Lincoln early in 1861, and yet another of the same year; then in 1864, and finally "the last portrait of President Lincoln," with the melancholy legend: "Taken April 9, 1865, the Sunday before His Assassination."

Miss Tarbell always writes interestingly, and there are several crises in Lincoln's career described with admirable fire and brilliancy. The dramatic touch is in evidence wherever the event justifies such a treatment. A copious Index (13 pages) closes the second volume.

H. T. HENRY, LITT.D.

Anglo-American Isthmian Diplomacy, 1815-1915. By Mary Wilhelmine Williams, Ph.D., Washington, D. C. The American Historical Association, 1916. Pp. ix+356.

The demands of American priority on this continent could be met in Central America only by the exclusion of European control, the paramountcy of United States influence, and particularly by American administration of any trans-isthmian canal. At the time the interest of this nation was awakened to Central America by our westward expansion the possibility of a Spanish challenge to the American claims had been removed by the transformation of Spain's Central American dominions into independent states. But to the United States, as formerly to Spain, the presence of the British in the isthmus presented a problem. The recent Panama Tolls dispute is the latest phase of a century-long process of adjustment; an adjustment always made more difficult by the fact that the British position was something in the nature of an accomplished fact before the emergence of any Anglo-American Isthmian question. In fact British interest in Central America antedated American independence.

In the colonial days of the Americas British encroachments had begun in Belize, the Bay Islands, and the Mosquito territory. Not only were there British settlers but the British government, in disregard of Spanish sovereignty, followed a policy which, while fluctuating, made in general for British political control. The settlement of this Anglo-Spanish question synchronized with the early years of the national life of the United States. Spanish

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sovereignty was recognized in the disputed territories and the British withdrew except from Belize where they were guaranteed certain privileges in a region admittedly Spanish.

Soon afterwards Central America broke away from the Spanish empire; and when it seemed possible that the United States aspired to leadership in a Pan-American confederation the British interest in Central America led to a definite attempt to acquire territory there and to prevent any close union of the states of the isthmus. Efforts were made to enlarge the Belize settlement, to seize some of the Bay Islands, and to convert what was a settlement into a colony of the British crown. These plans were not so successful as to put the British claims beyond dispute but it was a decided gain to keep the question open. The most important British advance was the establishment of a protectorate over the Mosquito Indians who were recognized as independent by Great Britain, and whose boundaries were extended to include the place where the proposed canal would probably be made. At the same time the British intrigued to prevent American expansion in Texas and California.

When at last American attention was aroused the United States tried to counter the British policy by binding the Isthmian States together in a union that would look rather to Washington than to London, and by securing transit rights across the isthmus. Domestic politics in these states were already in confusion. And the bungling ineptitude of the British and American agents gave rise to a series of entanglements and suspicions culminating in the impasse out of which a way was sought by the Clayton-Bulwer treaty of 1850. Two questions awaited settlement, that of the canal and that of British rights in Belize and Mosquitia. But the ambiguous wording of the treaty defeated its purpose. The inter-oceanic canal was to be neutralized. The question of British rights in Central America was treated in a way that left room for future altercations. The promise of both parties not to acquire or exercise dominion in the isthmus lacked sufficient explicitness to make it something more than a merely prospective agreement. And when in the following years each government clung to its own interpretation, and Great Britain professed to believe that the treaty permitted her to make colonies of Belize and the Bay Islands the possibility of war was freely discussed. Of three

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possible courses of action, war, a return to the status quo ante by an abrogation of the treaty, or arbitration, the last recommended itself to the justice and the commercial interests of England. America was also willing to arbitrate. Negotiations were begun which after several deadlocks resulted in the abandonment of all British claims in the islands and the Mosquito territory, the incorporation of these lands into Honduras and Nicaragua, and the definition of the boundaries of Belize where the recognized fact of British sovereignty was to cause no more difficulty. This territorial problem was not closed until 1894. Meanwhile, the matter of the canal was being handled satisfactorily. Very rightly the United States felt the nation had outgrown the conditions which made the old treaty stipulations for a neutral canal acceptable. At first Great Britain resisted the attempt to secure an American canal through Panama. But when the reasonableness of the American demand was recognized the Hay-Pauncefote treaty of 1901 superseded the Clayton-Bulwer agreement and permitted the construction, operation and protection of the canal by Americans. The last point in this history of Anglo-American Isthmian diplomacy is the repeal of the exemption clause in favor of American coastwise vessels which formed part of the Panama Canal Bill and against which the British government entered an effective protest.

This important chapter of American history is now told for the first time in any satisfactory and complete fashion. The work was a successful thesis for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in Leland Stanford Junior University. This and the fact that the book received the Justin Winsor prize for American history in 1914 guarantee its excellence. The work is well planned. The limits of time and idea are stated in the title. The background of Central American history is, of course, presupposed but the author gives references to help the reader fill in this background. The well-arranged bibliography is accompanied by critical comments on the value of the works listed for the present study and a liberal quotation of sources, a good map of Central America for the period of 1850–1860, and an index that leaves nothing to be desired in completeness add to the value of the book. A word of praise is merited by the writer's ability to weave innumerable details into a very readable narrative.

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This study, however, is more than a careful piece of history writing. It is to be signalized as a contribution to American history. As has been said, Dr. Williams gives the first complete study of her subject. Moreover, this volume presents heretofore unused materials of value in the manuscript archives of the State Department in Washington and the Public Record Office in London. Chapters II–VIII, covering the period from 1815–1860, are notable for this reason; and of these Chapter VIII is the first good account of the actual negotiations of the Clayton-Bulwer treaty ever published. One need hardly say that these new facts collected by the author are valuable also in a reinterpretation of old ones. And even the last chapters of the book, dealing with years for which the archives are still closed, and too recent for full appreciation, are valuable by reason of the author's approach and the presentation of recent history in its proper continuity with a well explained past.

In a work of this sort there is often the danger that in focussing attention on one part of history the writer may be betrayed into coloring the general background somewhat falsely. While one might take issue with Dr. Williams on a few statements of detail it must be said that her general ideas of periods and movements are always responsive to the control of facts.

J. M. Egan, S.T.L.

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NOTES AND COMMENTS

It was our good fortune in the spring of 1912 to accompany Canon Cauchie of the University of Louvain on an official mission to Spain, which had for its purpose a thorough investigation of archival material in that country for the history of the Flemish merchant houses during the reigns of Charles V and Philip II (1516-1598). The Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid, Simancas, the Escurial, and Seville were our chief objectives. Who could ever forget a journey to Simancas! Only a few foreign scholars were working in the Archives there when we visited that lovely little village with its huge medieval castle. There were documents everywhere—bundles (*legajos*) of them—literally, on all sides. The corridors were filled with cases; there were cases upon cases in room upon room. Luckily, we had driven out from Valladolid with Don Juan Montero, the Director; and within a short time a number of *legajos*, containing material for our search, were placed before us. At Madrid the same thing occurred. Even the stoutest-hearted worker would hesitate before attempting personal search. In Seville, the complexity of the situation was multiplied beyond all hope. Luckily, Mr. Roscoe R. Hill was then at work in the Archives, completing his *Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents relating to the History of the United States in the Papelas procedentes de Cuba deposited in the Archivo General de Indias* (Washington, 1916); and with his kindly given assistance we were enabled to orientate ourselves quickly and effectively in this vast archival field.

Personal research must of necessity be limited to a very small part of the Archives. In 1913 there were nearly 40,000 *legajos* in the *Archivo General de Indias;* and since then it is being rapidly made into a central depôt for all the intra-departmental and inter-departmental Archives. When the transfer from other Spanish Archives has been completed, there should be a total of 80,000 *legajos*. "On this basis," says Dr. Charles R. Chapman, in his *Catalogue of Materials in the Archivo General de Indias for the History of the Pacific Coast and the American Southwest* (University of California Publications in History, Vol. viii, Berkeley, California, 1919), "the ultimate wealth of the *Archivo General de Indias* is from 32,000,000 to 64,000,000 documents, aggregating 160,000,000 pages of manuscript! The vastness of these numbers and the possibilities that await the American investigator can best be appreciated when one considers that an estimate made in 1907 by a competent scholar, with the financial backing of the Carnegie Institute of Washington, revealed only 5,332 copies in the United States of documents from the Archives of Spain—not merely from the *Archivo General de Indias*—although many from the Archives at Seville have since been added to American libraries."

Dr. Chapman's volume is the latest addition to one of the most valuable series of Archival Guides in existence. We have referred on several occasions to the work carried on by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, Department

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of Historical Research, under Dr. Jameson's direction, and a list of the Archival *Guides* of the Department will be found in the *Review* (Vol. i, pp. 115-116). Dr. Chapman's great work is a product of the Native Sons' Fellowship in History, at the University of California. Catholic historical scholarship in the field owes a profound debt of gratitude to Shepherd, Hill, Bolton, Priestley, Pérez, Cunningham, Robertson and Chapman.

The REVIEW has received from Archbishop Francisco Orozco y Jiménez, of Guadalajara, Mexico, a series of documents: *Colección de Documentos ecclesiasticos relacinados con los EE. Unidos*, which are being prepared for publication in these pages by Father Zephyrin Engelhardt, O. F. M., of Old Mission, Santa Barbara, California.

Among the *rarissima* of the Connolly Library of Americana is the original manuscript volume of 90 pages (small octavo) entitled: *Voiages du Rd. P. Emmanuel Crespel, Récollet dans le Canada*, written in Paderborn in 1742.

The Carnegie United Kingdom Trust is providing an endowment of £1,500 yearly for five years for the new School of Librarianship which was opened early last October by the Senate of the University of London at University College. It is under the management of a committee appointed by the Senate, containing six representatives of the University and the same number of the Library Association. The school is organized to give a professional training in librarianship, though the course will not be restricted to those intending to take up this study professionally, but will be available for all whose education is adequate. The students will have access to the courses in the Faculties of Arts and Science, and special courses will be arranged in history, literature, bibliography and book-selection, paleography and the study of archives, library organization and routine. The practical side of librarianship will receive special attention in the new school.

The Dominican College, 487 Michigan Ave., N. E.,
Washington, D. C., November 19, 1919.

The Reverend Peter Guilday, Ph. D.,

Dear Doctor Guilday:

It was only a few days ago that I received your queries anent the existence of an early ordinance prohibiting the erection of a Catholic church within the municipal limits of Cincinnati, and the struggles of the first Catholics in the city for their faith. That such an ordinance existed in the pioneer town and necessitated the building of the first Catholic church outside the boundary line of the city is certainly a tradition of long standing. It is also certain that anti-Catholic prejudices were strong and bitter in early Cincinnati. Until a short time ago I thought the old and oft-repeated verdict of this tradition was an admitted and unquestionable fact. But later study of the matter throws at least a very grave doubt upon the existence of such an enactment. It may well be that the tradition of the old-time prejudices added the ordinance in after

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years. As you know, traditions, although they generally have some solid historic background, often become distorted. Certainly, this ordinance is not to be found among those still in existence at the City Hall, Cincinnati. However, there seems to have been then no law requiring the ordinances to be recorded, which makes it possible that this odious statute might have been enacted, but did not find a place in the records.

The earliest reference to a Catholic church (or to anything Catholic) in Cincinnati that I have been able to discover, appeared in *The Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* of December 11, 1811. This was perhaps the year of Father Edward Dominic Fenwick's first visit to the city, and the issuance of a call for the Catholics of the town to meet and deliberate on ways and means for forming a "congregation" was likely at his urging. The paper was published weekly, and the notice which we give below appeared in three consecutive issues, December 11, 18 and 25. The document seems to indicate much opposition on the part of those not of the fold.

CATHOLICK MEETING

> As the Constitution of the United States allows liberty of conscience to all men, and the propagation of religious worship, it is earnestly requested by a number of ROMAN CATHOLICKS of Cincinnati, and its vicinity, that a meeting be held on the 25th of December, next, [*sic*] at the house of Jacob Fowble, at 12 o'clock, A. M.; when, it is hoped, all those in favor of establishing a congregation and giving encouragement will attend, and give in their names, and at the same time appoint a committee of arrangements.
>
> Dec. 11, 1811.

It must be noted that the ground was actually purchased. Doubtless the bishop was led to think too that it was only rented, by the fact that the deed was not given until April 20, 1821. The delay in giving the deed was evidently because all the purchase money had not been paid.

Bishop Purcell, in a sermon preached at the laying of the corner-stone of Saint John's Church, Cincinnati, March 25, 1845, alluded to the trials and conflicts of the early Catholics in the city. In this connection he says:

> When they sought to procure a lot whereon to raise a little church, they met with contumely and reproach. They were told to go beyond the corporation line, to seek the brick yards, there they might find a place sufficiently good for them. The followers of a meek and humble Saviour, they bore all with patience and resignation. They went beyond the limits of the city, rented the small square, now known as the Old Graveyard on Vine Street, raised a small frame building, in which they devoutly assembled to adore the God of their fathers.[1]

Bishop Purcell arrived in Cincinnati, November 14, 1833, not quite fourteen years after the completion of the first Catholic church in the city. Doubtless there were living at the time of his coming some who had witnessed and even borne their part in the trials and hardships of the faithful in erecting their first temple of prayer.

[1] *The Catholic Telegraph*, April 3, 1845.

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All this gives coloring to the tradition of which we have spoken. Indeed, the notice in *The Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* and the bishop's sermon may well have given rise to the tradition. Yet neither this paper nor the bishop expressly asserts, nor necessarily implies, the existence of such a prohibitory ordinance, although both indicate a bias against everything Catholic so strong as to make it imprudent to attempt to build a church within the city limits. Nor must one forget that Bishop Purcell, forceful, bold and imaginative by nature, often indulged in hyperbole for the sake of oratory and effect. This makes it necessary to take his utterances with much precaution.

While it is certain that Father Fenwick paid a number of visits to Cincinnati after 1811, we have now, owing to the loss of his letters, no record of any further efforts to build a church there from the time of the appearance of the above notice in *The Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette*, until 1817. The *Western Spy*, another weekly paper of the city, contains the following notice in its issue of September 5, that year.

A CATHOLICK CHURCH

The Catholicks of the town and vicinity of Cincinnati, and those of the county of Hamilton, are requested to attend a meeting to be held at the house of Mr. Michael Scott on Walnut-street, a few doors below the Seminary, on SUNDAY, OCTOBER 12th, for the laudable purpose of consulting on the best method of erecting and establishing a Catholick church in the vicinity of Cincinnati. They will likewise please to take notice that great encouragement is already held out to them.

Looking unto Jesus the author and finisher of our faith; who for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the Throne of God. Hebrews: Chap. 12, v, ii [The King James Version].

Cincinnati, Sept. 1st, 1817.

This meeting, there can scarcely be any doubt, was called under the inspiration of Father Fenwick. He likely presided at it. Yet, in spite of the zeal of the ardent missionary, the attendance at the meeting shows a spirit of coldness and indifference—or could it have been fear?—on the part of some of the Catholics in the city. For we are told that only "nine men, seven women and four children" came to the house of Scott at the appointed time (*Souvenir Album of the Catholic Churches in Cincinnati and Hamilton County, Ohio*, 1896, p. 11). But in May, 1818, Bishop Flaget, as we learn from his life by Spalding (p. 183), stopped at Cincinnati on a journey to Michigan. He was accompanied by Revs. Philip Janvier and John Bertrand and doubtless passed that way at the request of Father Fenwick, who was anxious to have the influence of his bishop in spurring the people on to build a temple of prayer. The attempt was successful, for arrangements were then made for the purchase of a lot with that intent.

In the meantime, one James Findlay had given to his land, just beyond the northern limits of the town, the name of "Northern Liberties," and laid it out in lots which he offered for sale. Here it was that ground was purchased for the proposed church. The name given to the new section, Northern Liber-

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ties, and the fact that the early Catholics built their first temple of prayer in this locality, although it was difficult of access and far removed from their homes, seem also to have had their weight in strengthening and perpetuating the tradition of which you inquire.

Be that as it may, the Catholics now began to bestir themselves to build a church. A committee, appointed to gather funds, even wrote the following letter to John Carrere, a merchant of Baltimore.

Cincinnati, November 23rd, 1818.

Sir: Permit us to address you on a subject which we deem important.

We are authorized in behalf of ourselves and the Roman Catholicks of this town, that, considering ourselves like the lost sheep of the house of Israel, forlorn and forsaken, destitute of the means of exercising the duties of our holy religion, without guide, church or pastor, while we behold all other members of the community enjoying these benefits; we are compelled, from the paucity of our numbers, and the consequent want of pecuniary resources, to call upon our brethren throughout the Union for their assistance towards the erection of a Catholic Church.

For the speedy accomplishment of so desirable an object, we entertain a confident hope of your hearty co-operation. We, therefore, respectfully, but earnestly solicit your aid and influence.

Relying on your zeal and promptitude, we shall shortly expect to be favored with your reply directed to Mr. P. Reilly, of the firm of Perrys & Reilly, Brewers, Cincinnati. We are, sir,

Respectfully your obedient servants,

MICHAEL SCOTT, *Prest.*,
JOHN M. MAHON,
JOHN WHITE,
P. WALSH, *Secretary,*
Committee.

(*Souvenir Album*, as above, 1896, p.12).

Doubtless Fathers Fenwick and N. D. Young, the apostles of Ohio, were the leading spirits in this activity for the good of religion in Cincinnati. The latter missionary, however, seems to have been entrusted with the superintendence of work on the new church, whilst his reverend uncle gave his attention more to the other missions. Meanwhile, February 5, 1819, the Legislature of Ohio passed a law regulating the incorporation of religious societies. Probably for prudence's sake, the Catholics of Cincinnati now had their congregation incorporated in accordance with this enactment. The corporation was given the name of Christ Church, but, as may be seen from Fenwick's letters, the church was dedicated under the patronage of Saint Patrick. Doubtless it was to have the congregation incorporated that the following call for a meeting was issued, February 27 and March 6, 1819, in the *Western Spy:*

TO ROMAN CATHOLICKS

A general meeting of the Roman Catholicks of Cincinnati and the county of Hamilton is requested, at the house of John White, in Columbia-street, near Broadway, on SUNDAY, 7th of March next. . . . On business of importance.

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By order of the Committee. . . . John Sherlock, *Secr'y.*
February 26, 1819.

Work on the new church now went apace. And in the *Western Spy* of March 13, 20 and 27, 1819, we read the following notice:

TO ROMAN CATHOLICKS

The Roman Catholicks of Hamilton County are requested to forward to the Treasurer, in the course of the next [? this] and the following month, as large a portion of their subscriptions as they possibly can, as the committee will thereby be enabled to have the church ready for Divine Service by next Easter Sunday.

By order of the Committee,

MICHAEL SCOTT, *Sec'ry.*
"*Cincinnati, 13th March,* 1819.

This brief document is important in that it confirms the old tradition which tells us that the first mass in Cincinnati's proto-Catholic church was said on Easter Sunday, and settles the date of the dedication of the little frame house of prayer; for in 1819 Easter Day fell on April 11. Father N. D. Young, however, as may be seen from some published interviews with him, officiated on the occasion. Tradition also tells us this. Spalding says again (*op. cit.*, p. 201) that Bishop Flaget on his return from the north, June 7, 1819, found the church under roof and in actual use. The Cincinnati directory for that year informs us that out of a population of over 9,000 there were then only about one hundred Catholics in the city.

So much for the slow growth of early Catholicity in Cincinnati, the building of the city's first Catholic church, and the arguments which, to some, seem to substantiate the tradition of an early ordinance prohibiting the erection of such a structure within the municipal limits. It is but fair to the pioneer builders of the town that I should now give the reasons which tend to show that no such statute was ever enacted.

First, as has been stated, this enactment is not to be found among the early city ordinances, a list of which is still extant and seems to be complete. Neither can any trace of the repeal of such a statute be found. The appeal for help addressed to the Catholics of Baltimore by the committee of Cincinnati makes no reference to such an ordinance. Nor does Father Fenwick, later the first bishop of Ohio, even hint at it in any of his letters still existing. Bishop Spalding, who closely follows Bishop Flaget's diary in his life of that prelate, does not speak of it, although he had every reason to do so had it been mentioned in said diary recording the episcopal visits to Cincinnati in 1818 and 1819. (See *Life of Flaget*, pp. 183 and 201). Rev. S. T. Wilson, provincial of the Dominicans, writing to Rev. John A. Hill, then at Rome, but destined soon to become one of Ohio's most efficient missionaries, speaks rather favorably of the disposition shown towards the Church by the non-Catholics of Cincinnati. This letter is dated March 6, 1820; it is in the Propaganda Archives, America Centrale, Vol. iv, No. 138. The same may be said of a letter from the Catholic committee of Cincinnati to Archbishop Maréchal, dated September 25, 1820, and published in THE CATHOLIC HISTORICAL REVIEW, Vol. iv, pp. 30-31. So

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again, Rev. John B. V. De Raymaecker, O.P., who was ordained in Kentucky by Bishop Fenwick shortly after the latter's consecration, and accompanied him to Cincinnati, tells us that the non-Catholics of the city helped to defray the expenses of removing the church from the Northern Liberties into the heart of the town and constructing the new cathedral. Father De Raymaecker's statements are found in some loose notes that he left on the erection of Cincinnati into an episcopal see (Archives of the Dominican Fathers, Louvain). Some letters of the above mentioned Father Hill, found here and there, are of the same tenor as the documents from Fenwick, Wilson, and De Raymaecker.

Finally, the announcement of the bishop's arrival in his episcopal city which appeared in the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* of March 30, 1822, would indicate that no little harmony existed between the Catholics and those not belonging to their fold. It says:

COMMUNICATED

> We congratulate the Roman Catholicks of this city and environs on the arrival of the Right Revd. Dr. Fenwick, lately consecrated Bishop of Cincinnati and the state of Ohio. This circumstance not only interests Catholicks, but all the friends of literature and useful knowledge, as we understand that his intention is ultimately to open a school, aided by members of his Order, long distinguished for their piety and learning.

Thus, we see, none of the contemporary Catholic literature on early Catholicity in Cincinnati has a word about this traditionary ordinance. But not only is it ominously silent; its trend, in fact, is positively against the existence of such an odious statute. The same is true of all the non-Catholic histories of Cincinnati that I have been able to discover.

These facts, it seems to me, at least make the old traditional story extremely dubious, if they do not even positively refute it. A strong anti-Catholic bias among the early inhabitants of the city is admitted, I think, by all. Father Fenwick's well-known tact in dealing with those of other religious convictions doubtless toned down this bias very perceptibly, as it did wherever he labored, making his efforts in the cause of religion both smoother and more fruitful. Yet, in this connection, it should be noted that the success of Catholicity in Cincinnati and through the state of Ohio afterwards so aroused the apprehensions of sectarian ministers that they became bitter in their attacks upon the Church. It was to meet these attacks that Bishop Fenwick established the *Catholic Telegraph*, now the oldest Catholic paper in the United States.

The building of the church outside the municipal limits, and at a distance from the people, might have been a measure of economy. Perhaps, too, it was in part a precaution of the peace-loving friar, willing to make such a sacrifice further to allay the smoldering fire of bigotry. The name given to the new suburb of the city, Northern Liberties, may well have been a fancy of the man who laid it out in lots and offered them for sale. In any case, it was a catchy word for advertising purposes.

As the *Liberty Hall and Cincinnati Gazette* of March 30, 1822, states, it was Bishop Fenwick's hope and intention to start a college in his episcopal city and

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to place it under the care of his Order. A seminary was also embraced in the scheme. The Dominicans of Kentucky were in hearty sympathy with both projects. Indeed, it was decided to devote their main, if not all their energies to the welfare of the Church in Ohio. Bishop Flaget, however, wrote to Cardinal Consalvi protesting against the fathers leaving Kentucky. The Cardinal, at once and without even asking for the other side of the question, decided in Doctor Flaget's favor. This precipitate action, by depriving the new diocese of the help that had been confidently expected by Bishop Fenwick, nay, promised to him, thwarted all these plans for the time being, reduced him to the greatest distress, and finally brought about his well-known visit to Rome. But prior to this he had been fortunate enough to secure the services of Revs. Anthony Ganilh and Francis V. Badin for Michigan. Badin was a younger brother of Rev. Stephen T. Badin, the celebrated missionary of Kentucky. He was in deacon's orders when he offered himself to Fenwick, and was raised to the priesthood in the little frame church that stood in the Northern Liberties. His ordination took place, Holy Saturday, April 6, 1822, being the first in the city of Cincinnati or the state of Ohio, as his brother's had been the first in the United States. The church of Saint Francis of Assisi, Vine and Liberty streets, now occupies the hallowed spot.

To give even the most succinct account of Bishop Fenwick's efforts abroad to raise means for a much-needed cathedral, college and seminary, or of his labors at home during the next few years, would run this letter into undue length. Suffice it to say that, by dint of great exertions and sacrifices that were truly edifying, the cathedral was far enough advanced to be used for divine service on Sundays in the second half of 1826. It was opened for this purpose on June 29 of that year; dedicated on Sunday, the seventeenth of the following December. A seminary was opened in the cathedral May 11, 1829, with four students of theology and six in the preparatory courses. Meanwhile, the zealous bishop struggled and stinted himself until, through the aid of the French *Association de la Propagation de la Foi* and the noted Austrian *Leopoldinen Stiftung*, he erected a new structure for a combined college and seminary. The Austrian association of charity, it may be noted here, was organized expressly for the aid of our American missions, and was, I think, largely the inspiration of Bishop Fenwick. When completed, the group of buildings was pronounced by all among the finest and most imposing in Cincinnati. So tell us the histories of Cincinnati; so speaks the picture of the institution that is still in existence. That they were substantial structures is shown by the fact that part of them remained in use for more than fifty years in the heart of an American city that takes a pride in its buildings.

From this will be seen the gross exaggeration, to say the least, in Bishop Purcell's diary which would have us believe that Cincinnati's first Catholic college and seminary were the merest botches (*The Catholic Historical Review*, Vol. v, p. 241). The diary, we are glad to see, shows the great admiration of its author for everything connected with Mount Saint Mary's, Emmitsburg, whence he was sent to Cincinnati. Yet a comparison of the pictures of the two educational institutions at that time (1833) shows that the buildings of the western establishment were far the better.

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Doctor Purcell, as is well known, was somewhat susceptible to megalomania. Made a bishop at the age of three and thirty, the delusion of grandeur doubtless caused the ardent young prelate to conceive the idea of tearing down all that had been builded before, and of building everything anew on self. So he proceeds to belittle the discipline of the institution, its occupants and everything connected with it. Yet history reveals the character of the men then in the college and seminary of Cincinnati by showing their good work for the Church west of the Alleghany Mountains. Two of them, Henry D. Juncker and Josue M. Young, were afterwards appointed bishops, very likely on the nomination of Purcell himself. Besides, Fenwick's letters are proof positive of his great caution about receiving missionaries into his diocese, or students into his seminary, and the watchful eye he kept over them after they had been admitted.

Again, as is also well known, Doctor Purcell was irritable. His Diary is proof of his anger at having had to repay Bishop Rese five hundred dollars which the latter had contributed to the maintenance of the seminary during the year after Bishop Fenwick's death. The good man's wrath caused him to say all sorts of ugly, even scandalous things of its priests and seminarians. Were his assertions true, they would reflect (though no doubt this was not his intention) quite seriously on Cincinnati's first ordinary, a truly saintly and apostolic man, unless the seminary had been woefully neglected by Bishop Rese. Bishop Purcell's Diary contains no history. It is unfortunate for the reputation of its author that he left such a book of useless notes, exaggerated statements, morose reflections and unkind criticisms. It is a pity that it was ever brought to light. Three years sufficed to give the youthful prelate, that wisdom which comes from experience, and he ceased from such unwholesome musings. But, unfortunately, he forgot to destroy what he had written.

That Bishop Fenwick was held not only in the highest esteem, but in veneration, by his successor in the see of Cincinnati, is shown by Doctor Purcell's first pastoral letter and the honors paid the remains of the deceased prelate at the time of their removal from the old cathedral to the new (*Catholic Telegraph*, December 6, 1834, and March 16, 1848). It would be hard indeed to find in any language more glowing tributes paid to a man than those paid to Cincinnati's first ordinary in Doctor Purcell's pastoral. And there is every indication that they came from the heart. The same is true of the sketch of the saintly friar bishop in the *Catholic Almanac* of 1848, which many believe to have been written by his successor.

I would not have touched on the disagreeable matter of this Diary, had not one of the highest ecclesiastics in the country requested me to refute the false impressions it conveys. With this remark, I bring my letter—both too long and too dry, I fear—to a close, with the hope that it covers the points on which you seek information.

Ever cordially yours,

V. F. O'DANIEL, O. P.,

Washington, D. C.

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Father Ignatius Zeller's *Conversion of Two Lutheran Ministers to the Roman Catholic Church in 1863* has recently been translated (New York, 1918: J. Schaeffer Co.), by Joseph P. Brentano.

The *Dublin Review* for July-September, 1919, contains an article by the Editor, Mr. Shane Leslie, on *Manning, America, and Democracy.* It is needless to say that one of the principal figures in the correspondence published in the article is Dr. McGlynn of New York.

The *Maine Catholic Historical Magazine* for October, 1919 (Vol. viii, No. 1.) is made up of a valuable collection of documents relative to the history of the Church in Maine. An appendix contains a list of *Bishops and Priests, now dead, who served in Maine at various epochs* (1604-1908).

Rev. John Rothensteiner begins the history of the *Northeastern part of the Diocese of St. Louis under Bishop Rosati* in the *Illinois Catholic Historical Review* for October, 1919.

Le Centénaire de l'Archévêché de Québec (1818-1919), by Monsignor Lindsay, the Archivist of the Archdiocese, which appeared in the *Semaine Réligieuse* of Quebec, is being prepared in English for the REVIEW.

The publishers, Benziger Brothers, of New York, have issued *gratis* a *List of Catholic Newspapers and Magazines published in the United States today.* The total number given is 313.

The conversion of Bishop Kinsman, of Delaware, to the Catholic Church, recalls the fact that over a half-century ago another Episcopal bishop sought and obtained admission into the Church—Levi Silliman Ives (1797-1867). Bishop Ives was one of the most distinguished converts of the Tractarian movement in America.

Among the recent acquisitions of the Connolly Library are six little pamphlets on the conversion of Father John Thayer, in 1783. He was the first native of New England to be ordained to the priesthood. Father Thayer was born at Boston in 1755, and died at Limerick, Ireland, in 1815. A graduate of Yale, he became a Congregationalist minister, and, as such, served as chaplain to the American forces around Boston. After the war he visited Europe, and was in Rome when Benedict Joseph Labre died. He was so impressed by the sanctity of Europe's "beggar-saint" that he became a Catholic on May 25, 1783. The account of his conversion, written by himself, was printed in 1787, and was re-issued in French, Spanish, and Portuguese. Finotti has listed his publications in his *Bibliographia.* The titles of these pamphlets are: *Relaçao da Conversao dor Senhor Joao Thayer, Ministro Protestante em Boston na America do Norte: escrita por elle mesmo* (Lisbon, 1788); *Rélation de la Conversion de M. Jean Thayer, etc., écrite par lui-même* (Paris, 1788); *An account of the Conversion,*

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etc., (Dublin, 1809); the same, published at London, 1787; *Controversy between the Rev. John Thayer, Catholic Missionary of Boston, and the Rev. George Lesslie, Pastor of a church in Washington, New Hampshire* (Philadelphia, 1795). Father Thayer was not successful in his mission work in the United States, and he left for Europe in 1807, settling finally in Limerick. After his death, the three daughters of his host, James Ryan, came to Boston (1819), where they founded the Ursuline Convent at Mt. Benedict, Charlestown, which was destroyed by an anti-Catholic mob, August 11, 1834.

Dr. Charles H. Cunningham was appointed a Native Sons' Fellow in 1915 and spent two years in Spain, where the main center of his work was the *Archivo General de Indias*, at Seville. One of the results of his studies in Spain and at Manila was his article, *The Inquisition in the Philippines*, which was published in the REVIEW for January, 1918. The complete result of his work has recently appeared: *The Audiencia in the Spanish Colonies as illustrated by the Audiencia of Manila* (1583–1800), published (1919) as vol. ix of the University of California Publications in History. In dealing with the very delicate problem of the relation between the *Audiencia* and the Church authorities, Dr. Cunningham proves himself to be an able exponent of that splendid spirit of objectiveness and impartiality which characterizes all the work done at the University of California in the Spanish-American field.

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